DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 430 072 UD 032 920

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TITLE	Meeting the Challenges of Multicultural Education. The Third Report from the Evaluation of Pittsburgh's Prospect Multicultural Education Center.
INSTITUTION	Johns Hopkins Univ., Baltimore, MD. Center for Social Organization of Schools.; Center for Research on Effective Schooling for Disadvantaged Students, Baltimore, MD.
SPONS AGENCY	Office of Educational Research and Improvement (ED), Washington, DC.; Pew Charitable Trusts, Philadelphia, PA.
PUB DATE	1994-05-00
NOTE	195p.; For previous reports, see ED 346 200 and ED 358 201.
CONTRACT	R117R90002
PUB TYPE	Numerical/Quantitative Data (110) -- Reports - Evaluative (142) -- Tests/Questionnaires (160)
EDRS PRICE	MF01/PC08 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	Academic Achievement; Academic Aspiration; Cross Cultural Studies; *Cultural Awareness; Demonstration Programs; Intergroup Relations; *Middle Schools; *Multicultural Education; Occupational Aspiration; Program Implementation; School Community Relationship; *School Restructuring; Social Integration; Tables (Data); Urban Schools
IDENTIFIERS	*Pittsburgh School District PA

ABSTRACT

This is the third report from the evaluation of the Multicultural Education Program in Pittsburgh (Pennsylvania), a major effort to address racial and ethnic diversity in a middle school. Section 1 of the report provides background on the multicultural education movement and the aims of the Pittsburgh program. Section 2 describes the status of the program's challenges, presenting information on program implementation based on information from students, staff, and parents who are participants in the demonstration program. The third section describes the levels of implementation achieved and the implications of development to date. Seven program components have been developed to address the challenges of multicultural education: (1) conflict resolution; (2) cultural awareness; (3) learning and teaching styles; (4) cooperative learning; (5) multicultural curriculum; (6) parent and community involvement; and (7) elimination of tracking. The evaluation found mixed results at the Prospect Center, the school at which the program was implemented, but substantial progress was made at the district level. Multicultural education continues to be a priority for the Pittsburgh Public Schools, but the responsibility for change resides mainly in the individual schools. An appendix contains a policy statement on multicultural education, and student, staff, and parent surveys. (Contains 13 figures and 32 tables.) (SLD)

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Meeting the Challenges of Multicultural Education

The Third Report from the Evaluation of Pittsburgh's
Prospect Multicultural Education Center

Prepared by

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May 1994

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Preface

Demographic changes, continuing dissatisfaction with progress in achieving an integrated educational system, and proposals for multicultural education have fueled debates about race, ethnicity, and their role in political, economic, and educational policy. In this context, Pittsburgh developed the Multicultural Education Demonstration Program, a major effort to address racial and ethnic diversity in a middle school.

This is the third report from the evaluation of the Multicultural Education Program. The report covers the implementation of the program since its inception in May 1989 through the end of the 1992-93 school year. It describes the program's status and the status of challenges it addresses.

We have structured the report to provide information that will be helpful to the developing program and to audiences seeking to understand the rationale and content of a multicultural initiative and the responses it evokes from participants.

Our report provides background on the multicultural education movement and the aims of the Pittsburgh program. These topics are treated in Section I of this report. Section II of the present report describes the status of the program's challenges: It presents data on implementation of the program and on challenges the program faces. It includes information from the perspective of students, staff, and parents who are participants in the demonstration program. Section III describes the levels of implementation achieved and the implications of development to date for meeting the challenges and for replication of the multicultural program in other schools.

In some instances we detected errors in our earlier reporting, or we have chosen to calculate percentages in a different way in the present report. Where statistics reported differ, the data in this third report are definitive.

We are grateful for the colleagueship of the staff of the Allegheny Conference on Community Development and the Pittsburgh Public Schools. Special thanks go to Nancy Bunt, Stanley Denton, Robert Pipkin, Paul LeMahieu, Carolyn Thompson, Virginia Norkus, and Cynthia Petersen-Handley. Janet Marnatti provided assistance in data collection. We are also grateful for the candid counsel of members of the Board of Visitors and of Prospect Multicultural Center's administrators and staff on various aspects of our work.

This report was made possible by a grant from the Pew Charitable Trust to the Allegheny Conference on Community Development. We also benefited from support by grant no. R117R90002 from the Office for Educational Research and Improvement for a Center for Research on Effective Schooling for Disadvantaged Students. Opinions are our own and do not reflect the opinions of any sponsor or of the Program's staff.

A few words on our use of descriptors of race or ethnicity are in order. In our surveys, we tried multiple approaches to capturing race/ethnic self-identification -- combining "government-style" multiple-choice categories with open-ended requests for description of ancestry. One thing is clear: Not every respondent is comfortable with any method of description. This report makes use of compromise, simplification, and expediency. Black and African-American are used interchangeably and White and European-American are also treated as synonyms. This compromise does not do justice to those persons who preferred another descriptor. Among the most common alternative selected by respondents was "American," but there were many others.

Summary

Multicultural education is intended to address challenges of integrated education in a segregated society. Central themes of multiculturalism include:

- Presenting a balanced view of history,
- Fostering student self-esteem, positive intergroup relations, and respect among groups,
- Accommodating instruction to individual differences in learning styles,
- Emphasizing multicultural ideals throughout the school organization, and
- Providing all students an equal opportunity to learn.

A multicultural education demonstration in the Prospect Center represents Pittsburgh's attempt to show that schools can be restructured to bring about genuine integration. This middle-school demonstration was undertaken in the face of a history that had left neighborhoods segregated by race, ethnicity, and geography — and a record of troubled intergroup relations in the demonstration school.

The demonstration program has evolved from extensive planning and implementation trials conducted during the 1989-90, 1990-91, 1991-92, and 1992-93 school years. Seven program components were being developed through the District Office of Multicultural Education and the Prospect Center: (1) conflict resolution, (2) cultural awareness, (3) learning and teaching styles, (4) cooperative learning, (5) multicultural curriculum, (6) parent and community involvement, and (7) elimination of tracking.

These seven program components are being developed to address the six challenges of multicultural education:

1. Achieving respect and understanding for all groups,
2. Gaining community confidence in the school,

3. Securing ownership of the multicultural ideal among staff, students, parents, and the community,
4. Fostering student psychosocial development,
5. Enhancing students' career and educational aspirations, and
6. Furthering the academic achievement of all groups.

Respect and understanding. Despite promising signs, much remains to be done to meet the challenge of achieving a climate that thoroughly reflects respect and understanding for all groups. Whereas most students and most teachers want to work together, obstacles to doing so remain. Among these are (a) the continued persistence of widely shared stereotypes working to the disadvantage of both Black and White students, (b) increased tension between the teachers and the principal, (c) uncertainty about the commitment of all individuals to the multicultural ideal, and (d) the erosion of both Black and White parental perceptions of the school's program.

Community confidence. Most parents believe that the school has a sound academic program, but there are increasing signs of parental dissatisfaction. Both Black and White parents increasingly are concerned about school disorder. Parental dissatisfaction may thwart progress unless community views and concerns are successfully addressed.

Program ownership. The evidence suggests that student acceptance of the program is growing and that most staff, students and parents endorse the program's goals. But the initial high levels of program ownership by staff may be declining. Boys are nearly as enthusiastic as girls about learning about different cultures. The elimination of tracking and of the scholars' program is regarded as harmful or useless by a majority of staff. And, although the majority of Black parents endorse the program, a large minority of White parents believe there is not enough balance in the program's emphasis. If community concerns are not addressed, the program may become too unpopular to continue in its present form.

Student psychosocial development. Assessments imply that both African- and European-American students tend to feel connected to the school, respect conventional social rules, think positively about themselves, and feel pride in their own group's cultural traditions. At the same time, students report that members of their own group are likely to hassle or hurt each other. The evidence suggests that program components directed at how students now treat each other may prove more helpful than will attempts to change how history is perceived.

Career and educational aspirations. Many Prospect students are not yet seriously oriented towards careers. Many students aspire to a small number of occupations that employ few American workers. Boys' educational aspirations are lower than girls' aims, and the aspirations of students in higher grades are lower than those of younger students. However, the evidence suggests that fewer students now expect derision from peers.

Achievement. Perceptions of the school and acceptance of the multicultural ideal may hinge on concrete evidence of gains in the academic perofmance of all groups of students. A pattern of improved achievement for all students is not demonstrated in the California Achievement Test data, and the evidence discloses the persistence of a large achievement gap between African-American and European-American students. The patterns seen in the formal testing program are paralleled in the data on grades earned.

Despite the mixed results at Prospect, substantial progress was made at the district level. The program had controversial elements - tracking and changes in employment were the most variable - but many of its elements garnered substantial support. Multicultural education continues as a priority today in the Pittsburgh Public Schools, but the responsibility for change reside mainly in individual schools.

SECTION I.

MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION - WHY AND WHAT

In this section we provide an overview of multicultural education as an idea, explain the national and local context within which the Prospect Demonstration Program operates, and summarize the program itself.

Chapter 1. The Responsibility of Multiculturalism

Achieving equality and respect for all of America's identifiable racial and cultural groups is one of our most important goals. Our country, founded on egalitarian ideals, has never achieved equality. The nation has grappled with different aspects of the incongruence between ideal and actual intergroup relations at different historical times. Without question, we have made iterative progress as a slave-owning society abolished slavery, extended suffrage to former slaves (and later to women), desegregated facilities, and promulgated over time law and regulations whose aim has been to promote fairer practices in employment and education.

Also, without question, the progress made is eclipsed by the magnitude of the remaining problems and the challenges that are emerging with a changing demography. American Indians are isolated and bear economic and health burdens disproportionate with their small numbers, and Latino immigrants and children of immigrants lag behind other groups in school and the workplace. Segregation and differential access to educational and economic resources mark the day-to-day life of most identifiable minorities in America.

Today, many people — even those who cannot understand the importance of mutual understanding, respect, and promoting the achievement of all groups of Americans as an end in itself — understand the demographic imperative of these goals because of their instrumental nature. If the American culture and economy are to have scientists, artists, and entrepreneurs, these leaders will have to come increasingly from the ranks of groups that were heretofore — but no longer are — minorities.

Education in a Multiracial Society

Unsatisfying Progress

Fifty years after the landmark desegregation decision in *Mendez v. Westminster School District*, satisfactory solutions to the problems created by desegregated schooling in a segregated society remain unattained. Desegregation remains America's most visible social experiment, but its goals seem increasingly elusive as solutions are tried, found wanting, and altered to reflect shifts in community values, social conditions, and expectations.

Busing — once viewed as a means to integrate schools without first integrating neighborhoods — has been the object of backlash among both Whites and Blacks, many of whom claim that this practice destroys neighborhood schools, lessens parental participation in their children's education, and weakens the fabric of community life. Minority students in desegregated schools are often re-segregated through tracking, culturally insensitive instruction, and low teacher expectations for student performance.

Demographic shifts make the search for satisfying solutions to segregation even more urgent. Dramatic changes are occurring in the ethnic and economic composition of our nation. According to one analysis, in 1988 25 million of the nation's 63.6 million children under age 18 were educationally disadvantaged when any one of five risk factors (including race/ethnicity and poverty) was used to define disadvantage.[1] Using population projections, the same analysis shows that the numbers and proportions of the population who will be affected by each of these risk factors is increasing. By the year 2020, the number of children living in poverty is expected to increase from 12.4 to 16.5 million. America's Hispanic population is also growing rapidly and is at especially high risk of failing to complete high school. Desegregation can no longer be considered a Black/White issue, but a multiethnic and multicultural one.

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[1] G. Natriello, E. L. McDill, & A. M. Pallas (1990). *Schooling disadvantaged children: Racing against catastrophe.* NY: Teachers College Press.

Against this backdrop, Pittsburgh undertook an initiative to meet the challenges of desegregation by fostering genuine integration in a Multicultural Education Program. The remainder of this chapter first describes the multicultural idea, and then it introduces the program's aspirations.

Pittsburgh's initiative is a contemporary attempt to advance education in our multicultural society. This attempt is one instance, among many related instances in many localities, in which current understandings of cultural diversity and aspirations for promoting respect and dignity for all groups are applied to education with the aim of demonstrating how progress can be made at this historical moment.

In this report, therefore, we describe one multicultural education program and its context. We also do what few previous assessments of a deliberately culturally sensitive program have done: Provide quantitative data about the problems the program faced and program outcomes.

Goals of Multicultural Education

Although advocates of multicultural education do not all speak with one voice, several concerns are central to the idea of multiculturalism:

1. Balanced presentation and content in history and other school subjects.
2. The personal development and interpersonal relations of students — especially with respect to their own ethnic/racial identity, self-esteem, and intergroup relations.
3. Fair and effective approaches to individual differences in learning styles that are believed to have links to cultural influences.
4. Multicultural representation in the entire school environment — staffing, policies and procedures, and staff and organization development.
5. Equal opportunity to learn for all groups.

These five concerns have received unequal attention in the media, with more popular attention directed at the first (balance in coverage) than at the others. The other four issues are of equal importance. The five concerns are discussed in turn in the following sections.

Balanced Content

To many Americans, the pervasive appearance of White political leaders on the evening news and of White fashion models on magazine covers at the check-out counter are unremarkable. To many White Americans in particular this seems "normal," and the predominance of these images is not even noticed. Similarly, many Americans do not notice that our country's history as taught in the schools is more often presented from the perspective of European Americans than from the perspective of African slaves, displaced Indians, Mexicans, or Asian laborers.

A vocal and newly influential group, composed mainly of African Americans, noticed this lopsided presentation and urged a shift in the balance of images, particularly in public education. Proposals for multicultural education are one manifestation of a desire for greater balance in images of experience, accomplishment, and contribution to American culture.

Thus, one theme of most proposals for multicultural education calls for presenting a more balanced and representative version of history. More representative accounts would explain to students the appalling conditions of enslavement of persons of African extraction and the effects of this practice on the lives of those affected — elevating accounts of the role of chattel slavery in American history from the points of view of slaves to the same level of attention as accounts of Lincoln or Calhoun. A more balanced version would include accounts of westward expansion from the point of view of American Indians.

Predictably, these visions of balance have run afoul of persons who are more comfortable with traditional curricula. William James explained that an interpretation too divergent from one's system of beliefs is likely to be regarded as false.[2]

Just as Black scholars have criticized accounts of conventional history, some mainstream scholars have criticized questionable historical accounts associated with Afrocentrism. Prominent among these critics is historian Arthur Schlesinger.[3] Although he favors curricular changes to improve historical accuracy, he sees the weakening of ethnic or racial identity as a key to achieving the national ideal of a melting-pot society — and so rejects those elements of the multicultural movement that foster ethnic distinctions.

According to James Banks, a proponent of multiculturalism, other detractors believe that "Multiculturists are too friendly with status-quo administrators and teachers."[4] These critics believe that multicultural education will be compromised by too close an association with the status quo.

Despite these diverse views, an aspiration for multicultural education is that it will promote greater exposure to and understanding of the contributions of the diverse groups making up the American public. If ignorance sustains xenophobia, if isolation sustains fear or contempt, then pluralistic education may help ameliorate these social malignancies. In this sense, multicultural education is an extension of the ideas underlying earlier calls for an end to racially segregated education.

Personal Development and Interpersonal Relations

It is probably no accident that the calls for multicultural education have come principally from African Americans, representatives of the group that has least successfully been assimilated into common American culture. Other groups — Italians, Irish, Poles, for example — have far more easily melted despite the prejudice each of these groups has faced. Asians, often regarded as examples of successful achievement through talent and hard work, are hardly noticeable among advocates of multicultural education. But the desire for greater balance in their treatment in education most prominently now expressed by African Americans is shared by the two other groups not faring well according to many educational indicators: Latinos and American Indians.

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[2] "What actually *does* count for true to any individual trower, whether he be philosopher or common man, is always a result of his *apperceptions*. If a novel experience, conceptual or sensible, contradict too emphatically our pre-existent system of beliefs, in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred it is treated as false." W. James (1912). *The Essence of Humanism*. NY: Reynolds.

[3] A. M. Schlesinger, Jr. (1991). The disuniting of America. *American Educator*. Winter: 14-33.

[4] J. A. Banks (1992). African-American scholarship and the evolution of multicultural education. *The Journal of Negro Education*, *61*, 283.

An explanation for lagging educational progress is seen in the limited support for cultural identity and self-esteem in the organization and offerings of public education. A part of the mission of schooling is to build youths' sense of racial or ethnic pride and self-esteem. As James Turner put it, "What is school if it doesn't build children's self-confidence? American education does that for White children. From the day White kids walk into school, they are told that they are heirs to the greatest achievements of humankind."[5]

A key aspiration for multicultural education is that it will help build pride in group identity, commitment to education, and sense of community among Black and Latino students. By so doing, it may weaken one of the impediments to more educational success among those groups who now fare worst in school and in the economy. One key to achieving this aspiration is making the context and mode of instruction responsive to diversity in learning styles.

Learning Styles

Group differences in learning styles have been suggested as causes of ethnic group differences in educational failure.[6] One such style, a dimension usually referred to as field-dependence versus field-independence,[7] is broadly related to preferences for social versus asocial activity, performance on analytical tasks, and the susceptibility of judgments to social influence or perceptual distractors. Field-dependent individuals appear to benefit from greater structure and teacher direction whereas field-independent individuals more easily discover a structure on their own. This field-dependence versus independence cognitive style also appears to be related to preferences for activities.

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[5] Quoted by J. Adler, et al. (1991). African dreams. *Newsweek*, 23 September: 44.

[6] C. I. Bennett (1990). *Comprehensive multicultural education: Theory and practice* (2nd ed.). Boston: Allyn and Bacon.

[7] H. A. Witkin, C. A. Moore, D. R. Goodenough, & P. W. Cox (1977). Field-dependent and field-independent cognitive styles and their educational implications. *Review of Educational Research, 47*, 1-64. S. Messick (1982). *Cognitive styles in educational practice* (Research Report 82-13). Princeton, NJ: Educational Testing Service.

A related idea, known as "conceptual level,"[8] has also been proposed as a learning style with implications for instruction. According to this perspective, individuals with short attention spans and who are high in impulsivity may require more structure in educational contexts than do individuals who tend to show persistence in pursuing solutions independently.

Matching instructional practices to individual differences in learning styles is an idea with much appeal. Although this idea has not become integrated with mainstream research on instructional design,[9] some speculations about cultural differences in learning styles have plausibility[10] (although they could degenerate into harmful stereotypes if incautiously applied).[11]

If social groups differ in cognitive or learning styles, then it follows that instruction favoring one style rather than others may disadvantage some groups. Therefore, one of the concerns of multicultural education has been to encourage attention to individual differences in learner characteristics and the application of a broad range of instructional approaches which are to some extent matched to the characteristics of the learner.

Multicultural Representation

A multicultural perspective implies that social institutions should provide opportunities for participation by individuals with diverse origins and with diverse characteristics. This perspective rejects a purely assimilationist view that cultural origins ought not matter.[12] Instead, the multicultural ideal seeks to enhance the extent to which individuals function effectively in multiple cultures, understand and value the contributions of members of diverse groups, and understand themselves in multiple cultural contexts.

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[8] D. E. Hunt (1974). *Matching models in education.* Toronto: Ontario Institute for Studies in Education.

[9] R. Glaser & M. Bassok (1989). Learning theory and the study of instruction. *Annual Review of Psychology, 40,* 631-666. L. Corno & R. E. Snow (1986). Adapting teaching to individual differences among learners. Chapter 21 in M. C. Wittrock (ed.). *Handbook of research on teaching* (3rd ed.). NY: Macmillan.

[10] K. Swisher (1992). Learning styles: Implications for teachers. Chapter 5 in C. Díaz (ed.). *Multicultural education for the 21st century.* Washington, DC: National Education Association.

[11] See hypotheses attributed to A. Hilliard by C. I. Bennett, footnote 6.

This outlook calls for representation and power sharing by diverse groups. One concern of multicultural education is therefore to foster the representation of individuals capable of understanding and communicating about diverse perspectives. This concern is reflected in a desire for balance in the staffing of educational organizations and a recognition that continual effort at staff development will likely be required.

It is not uncommon to find that European Americans predominate among the faculty and administration in public schools — even in schools serving large minority populations. This predominance is fostered and maintained by regularities in recruitment and selection procedures which are viewed by many as exclusionary. In Pittsburgh, most faculty and administrators are White, although the student population is more equally divided between White and Black. The mix of faculty is maintained, at least in part, by selection barriers — including cognitive tests—which have been more difficult for African-American teacher candidates than for their European-American counterparts to surmount. One clear result is resentment. A second result may be a diminished capacity for schools to provide a culturally sensitive environment with ample adult role models drawn from the same backgrounds as the students.

Equal Opportunity to Learn

A final core concern of multicultural education is with providing an equal opportunity for all to learn.

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[12] See J. A. Banks (1981). *Multiethnic education: Theory and practice.* Boston: Allyn and Bacon. Elsewhere in this report we use the term "cultural pluralism" in a manner more similar to the way Banks uses the term multiethnic than to the way he uses the term cultural pluralism. Our use follows the *Random House Dictionary of the English Language* (2nd ed.).

This concern is reflected in the recognition that some customary educational arrangements (that are perhaps well suited to achieving some educational goals) may operate at the expense of other goals.

The common practice of grouping students by ability provides one example. Tracking is widely practiced for several reasons.[13] Instruction for groups of students at one level and one pace is easier than instruction at several levels and at different paces; teachers often prefer teaching bright students, and teachers whose services are in high demand are rewarded with classes of bright students; many educators believe that bright students will go unchallenged in heterogeneous classrooms; and far too many educators believe that students who have fallen behind should be taught at a slower pace than others. In addition, affluent, assertive parents often want to be assured that their children are being specially treated. None of these reasons for ability grouping suggests equal opportunity to learn for those students placed in the lower tracks. Opposition to tracking among some educational commentators has begun to approach ideology.[14]

Accordingly, multicultural education seeks alternatives to ability grouping. These alternatives may be achieved through multiple mechanisms. Among these are the elimination of tracking and the substitution of instructional methods suited for heterogeneous groups of students. Among the methods proposed as alternatives have been mastery learning, cooperative learning, and the use of multiple instructional styles. Many teachers are unfamiliar with these instructional strategies, providing an additional reason for the emphasis on recurrent staff development in multicultural education.

The twin aims of (a) reducing conflict among individuals and groups and (b) improving the management of classrooms and instruction are often seen as additional elements of an educational program conducive to equal opportunities for all to learn. This is especially important if conflict leads to disparate patterns of exclusion of some groups from the school through suspension.

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[13] A. Biemiller (1993). Lake Wobegon revisited: On diversity and education. *Educational Researcher, 22*(9), 7-12. A. Biemiller (1993). Students differ: So address differences effectively. *Educational Researcher, 22*(9), 14-15.

[14] R. E. Slavin (1993). Students differ: So what? *Educational Researcher, 22*(9), 13-14.

Public Debate About Multicultural Education

The debate that surrounds multicultural education stems in part from a focus on only one aspect of the multicultural idea. But it also stems in large part from two distinct visions of its likely consequences. Proponents view multicultural education as a logical, fair, and overdue approach to integrating minority youths into the mainstream of a redefined, more pluralistic, American cultural identity.

Some detractors view it as often unscholarly, divisive, and unlikely to contribute to the welfare of American society. Still other detractors view it as a hollow promise — a seductive diversion that encourages minority children to compete for economic rewards through educational achievement even though educational achievement (a) does not guarantee economic success and (b) is pursued on an unlevel playing field.

The idea of multicultural education is a lightning rod that draws many of the competing aspirations for quality education for all groups of students — competing aims that are elicited in a more diffuse way by all the nation's approaches to education in a segregated society.

It is an unfortunate irony that ideas surrounding multicultural education have produced a certain amount of acrimony, even among those who presumably view themselves as open-minded. Unhelpful labeling of others' perspectives using thinly veiled or unveiled pejoratives ("special interest," "neo-conservative," etc.) probably serves to arouse mutual mistrust and suspicion. Although it may be a truism that any social movement that is at least partially successful oversimplifies and arouses emotions that may be directed at an opposition, it may be true as well that more open-minded agnosticism about many issues should characterize the discussion of multicultural reforms.

No single attempt to learn of the effects of a multicultural educational reform can illuminate all aspects of the debate. This is so because any single attempt will necessarily reflect the particular prospects, talents, and predilections of those who bring the demonstration to life. It is also true because educational change is typically evolutionary, not revolutionary. In the remainder of this report, we focus on one serious effort to deploy and learn from a multicultural education program. This effort has produced experiences and empirical evidence useful in shaping efforts to achieve the aims of multicultural education.

The Pittsburgh Multicultural Education Program

Through the Multicultural Education Program at Prospect Middle School, the Pittsburgh schools have aimed to demonstrate that a self-perpetuating change in the social organization of schools can be brought about with beneficial results for students, families, and communities.

Purpose

The Pittsburgh program at Prospect Middle School was intended to demonstrate that (a) schools can be restructured to bring about genuine, rewarding integration of persons from diverse neighborhoods and differing ethnic backgrounds; (b) activities to reach, involve, and utilize the resources of parents and communities can build community ownership of pluralistic education in which all groups benefit educationally; (c) instructional and co-curricular arrangements can increase learning, improve race relations, limit conflict, and enhance the sense of self-efficacy and aspirations of all students; (d) curricular modification can enhance appreciation of the cultural contributions of all ethnic groups; (e) activity to develop a school's human resources will improve the treatment of youths of all ethnic backgrounds and produce a competent environment in which to conduct education; and (f) evaluation can serve to develop and improve the program over time as well as to document what the program has done with what effects.

Background

The history and geography of Pittsburgh combined to make it a city of neighborhoods most of which are marked by distinct patterns of ethnic or racial composition and isolation from other neighborhoods.[15] The city's public school population is composed of students of German, Irish, Italian, Hungarian, Slavic, Croatian, Greek, Polish, and other nationalities of European origin as well as African-American students. In the late 1800's Pittsburgh grew as large numbers of workers of European extraction came to work in the steel mills. Later, during World War I, southern Blacks moved in large numbers to Pittsburgh to meet wartime demands for production. The succession of migrations produced ethnically and racially segregated neighborhoods, often delimited by rivers or hills that form natural boundaries.

Today, three quarters of Pittsburgh's population is White, but half of the public schools' students are Black.

As in other school districts nationwide, educational outcomes for Black students usually lag behind those for White students (Figure 1.1).

Since 1980 Pittsburgh has implemented a voluntary desegregation plan that employs elementary schools serving local neighborhoods and busing across neighborhoods to promote desegregation in middle schools. Many students therefore experience desegregated education for the first time as they enter middle school, and this is true for students at Prospect Middle in particular. Before desegregation, Prospect served mainly children from White working-class families of eastern-European extraction. With desegregation, the school began to serve nearly equal numbers of White students and Black students bussed from the Hill district — located some miles away across the Monongahela River. Many parents both in the community surrounding the school and in the more distant Black neighborhoods have been displeased by the desegregation of the school.

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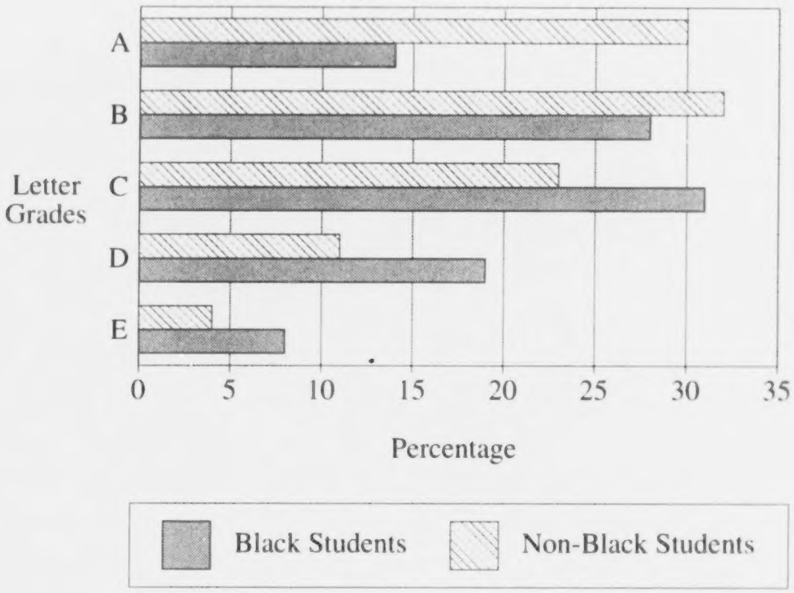
[15] This account of community history is based on a grant proposal for the multicultural program written by the Pittsburgh Schools' Development Office.

Figure 1.1. Letter grades earned by Black and White students in Pittsburgh Middle Schools, 1989-90.



Source: Student Information Management Division, Pittsburgh Public Schools.

The school was distinguished by disturbances partly of a racial character in the 1988-89 school year. Over five percent of parents were cited for violations of the compulsory education law because they kept students home from school, and school security personnel were required to keep order.

Prospect Middle School was selected as a location to demonstrate that a climate can be created in which all students' cultures will be appreciated and where such a climate will produce better student conduct, increased student effort, and improved academic outcomes. The difficulties the school was experiencing and its mixed demographic profile make it a challenging proving ground for the idea that multicultural education can improve race relations and enhance the educational prospects of all students.

Program Goals

Some key features of the Multicultural Program are illustrated in Figure 1.2. The most fundamental information about the program is summarized by its goals:

1. Achieving respect and understanding for all groups.

2. Building community confidence in the school.

3. Developing program ownership by staff, students, parents, community, and school system.

4. Fostering student psychosocial development.

5. Enhancing students' career and educational aspirations.

6. Promoting academic achievement for all groups.

The following chapters are organized by these six goals. In them we present information about the nature of the challenges each goal presents, and we tell the story about what happened in the area of each goal over the three years we assessed the program.

Figure 1.2. The multicultural program, features, objectives, and goals.

Program Inputs	→	Program Components →	Intervention → Features	Objectives →	Goals →	Ultimate Goals
Human Relations Teachers School-Based Coordinator Director Staff Development Resources District Curriculum Team Board of Visitors Evaluation Personnel Resources Other	Initial Program Design Choices	Restructuring Heterogeneous grouping Instructional teams Flexible duty (HRT) School-community-parent relations and involvement Outreach Resource utilization Resource room Workshops Transportation Good news calls Volunteer aides Student relations Cooperative learning Peer counseling/tutoring Heterogeneous extra-curric. leadership activities Conflict mgmt. skills Curriculum Infusion/ pluralism Program Development Evaluation	Truly rewarding integrated activities Students Teachers Parents Community Multicultural pluralism in content of instruction Genuinely integrated instructional structures Scheduling Grouping Access/ participation	Attitudes Own group Other groups Self-efficacy expectations Student Parent Parent expectations for students Attendance Teacher treatment of students Student conduct	Community perceptions of Prospect Student achievement — all groups Intergroup harmony Student psychosocial health Program ownership Staff Students Parents Community System Career and educational aspirations	Self-perpetuating social organization

Chapter 2. The Program

The Multicultural Education Program originated in the School Neighborhood Consortium, a project that the Allegheny Conference Education Fund undertook in 1986 to improve connections between Pittsburgh schools and the neighborhoods they served. When racial tensions increased at Prospect during the 1988-89 school year, the project and the district conceived a specially staffed multicultural demonstration program and with it the creation of a position for a cabinet-level officer who would report directly to the Superintendent of Schools.

The resulting Multicultural Education Program convened the Prospect Steering Committee in January 1989 to address racial tensions in the school. By the end of the school year, planning committees had recommended that a multicultural education center be established at Prospect, and the Board of Education officially adopted the initiative for the Prospect Center. Robert Pipkin was appointed as Principal — and with the input of committees made up of district-level supervisors or directors of content areas, a parent, and a central office administrator — he selected teachers who met the criteria of mastery of content, good human-relations skills, and commitment to multicultural education.

The Pittsburgh Federation of Teachers and the Board of Education prepared a memorandum of understanding that closed Prospect Middle School in June 1989 and reopened it in school year 1989-90 as the Prospect Center for Multicultural, Multiethnic, Multiracial Education (later simplified to the Prospect Multicultural Education Center). Stanley Denton was appointed as Director of the Office of Multicultural Education in September 1989.

This chapter describes the program as it developed over three years of implementation. The first section presents an overview of the program's staffing and content. The second section describes the organizational structure for the program — including the structure of the district multicultural education program which provided a context within which the program at Prospect evolved, and the organization of the program in the school itself. The last section discusses the program as it was implemented by the 1992-93 school year.

Program Staffing and Content

When the Prospect Steering Committee convened in January 1989, Superintendent Richard C. Wallace gave it a mandate to plan a program that included human relations training and the infusion of multicultural themes into the curriculum. These two components are cornerstones of the current program, although the broad outlines of other components emerged as eight program planning committees submitted their reports at the end of the 1989-90 school year.

By the beginning of the first full year of implementation, a staffing structure and seven "strands" had been identified that combined activities to enhance the curriculum, restructure the delivery of instruction, and improve relations within and beyond the school.

Program Staffing

The program utilizes staff beyond the usual middle school complement to implement the program. In addition to the Director of Multicultural Education, these include: (a) a Multicultural Program Coordinator, (b) Human Resources Teachers (HRTs), (c) three instructional assistants, (d) replacement teachers, and (e) a secretary.

The Multicultural Program Coordinator was responsible for day-to-day program activities at Prospect. The position was full time during the first two years of the program, and half time during the last year.

Human Resources Teachers in the school were relieved of a portion of their regular classroom assignments to carry out roles as planners, implementers, and trainers. Human Resources Teachers at the district level have similar roles, but the bulk of their work consists of training administrators and teachers in schools throughout the district.

Partner teachers are housed in the district office. The relieve regular classroom teachers of duties when training is underway. The counterparts of partner teachers at Prospect were called replacement teachers.

Enhancing the Curriculum

A multicultural curriculum component infuses multicultural content into existing courses and co-curricular activities, and it introduces new courses and co-curricular activities based on tenets of multicultural education.

Guidelines for infusion specify seven areas of curriculum infusion: content, support/linking activities, teaching strategies, assessment strategies, selection of instructional materials, learning activities, and classroom environment. District content directors are taking the lead in reviewing and selecting new materials and developing standards for implementing the revisions in schools. The district adopted a new basal reading series that is multicultural in content.

The strand also encompasses the development of new courses whose focus is multicultural education. District and Prospect staff prepared a scope and sequence for a course for sixth-grade students during the 1990-91 school year. A course for seventh graders is to be implemented during the 1994-95 school year.

Restructuring the Delivery of Instruction

Specific program strands to restructure the delivery of instruction include (a) the elimination of tracking, (b) the application of cognitive learning and teaching styles, and (c) cultural awareness. The latter element includes new arrangements, such as Advisory Homerooms and co-curricular activities, intended to foster attachments between teachers and learners.

Elimination of Tracking. The district aims to provide equal opportunity for instruction to all students and to reduce segregation within schools with racially balanced populations.

To achieve these aims, the district adopted a *Policy Statement of Multiracial, Multiethnic, Multicultural Education in the Pittsburgh Schools.*[1] The policy unambiguously prohibited tracking: "Tracking, regardless of the rationale offered, is prohibited." The policy further specified that heterogeneous grouping is the accepted practice. Regrouping in subject areas (such as reading or math) is permitted in exceptional cases.

The Superintendent suspended the policy in the spring of 1992 following vocal protests from some constituencies. The policy now is to maintain the status quo until further notice.

Cognitive Learning and Teaching Styles. The cognitive learning and teaching styles strand is intended to increase student achievement and motivation to learn. This strand trains teachers to match teaching styles to students' preferred styles of learning. It is anticipated that consideration of learner preferences — through redesign of classroom environments, use of multisensory instruction, and other strategies — will achieve the component's motivational and achievement objectives.

Initial training in learning styles was conducted by the Center for the Study of Learning Styles in January, February, and April 1991. Teachers participated in the training, which focused on the approach developed by Rita Dunn and her associates. Teachers learned to administer and interpret scores on the Learning Styles Inventory and to incorporate information about students' learning styles into instruction. As in the conflict resolution strand, training participants have trained others at Prospect.

Cultural Awareness. The cultural awareness strand embraces activities to foster students' respect for and understanding of their own and others' cultural backgrounds, enhance career and educational aspirations, and promote psychosocial growth.

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[1] This document is reproduced in Appendix A.

Although a wide range of activities is possible, activities are expected to reflect a developmental model that views cultural appreciation as the culmination of a sequence of stages. Also, activities are to be designed in ways that help students to explore culture in self-enhancing ways.

Improving Relations within the School and Beyond

Activities to improve relations among students and teachers in the school, between the school and other entities, and among groups outside the school include the use of conflict resolution strategies, cooperative learning in classrooms, and parent and community involvement.

Conflict Resolution. The conflict resolution strand is intended to promote effective management of interpersonal and intergroup conflict among teachers, administrators, and students. The program uses a model of conflict resolution developed by Morton Deutsch and associates at the International Center for Cooperation and Conflict Resolution, Teachers' College, Columbia University. During the 1990-91 school year, a representative from the Center trained HRTs and staff developers to apply the model. In turn, these trained individuals now routinely train school personnel and students at Prospect and throughout the district.

Cooperative Learning. Cooperative learning is intended to promote positive intergroup relations in untracked desegregated classrooms to enhance student ability to work with others in pursuit of common goals and to improve achievement.

Cooperative learning strategies are to be implemented within subject matter areas. In addition to math teachers trained by the district, two Prospect teachers were trained in cooperative learning methods and, in turn, trained others in the school.

Parent and Community Involvement. Through the parent and community involvement strand the program aims to build community confidence in the school, promote academic achievement of students, and increase respect and understanding among racial/ethnic groups. Activities are conducted to augment school/business partnerships, recruit volunteers to work in the school, inform parents and staff about matters of mutual concern regarding students and school policy, and develop programs between school and community organizations.

Program Structure

The Office of Multicultural Education

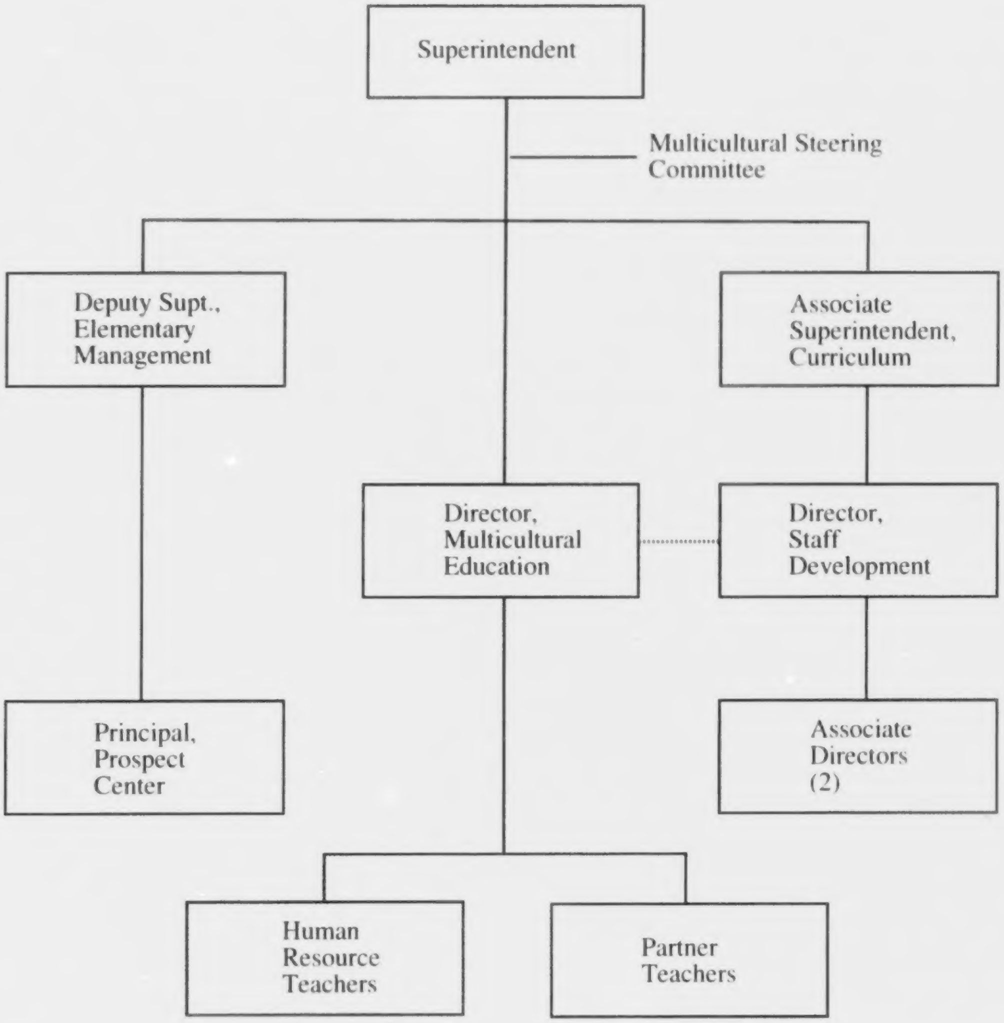
Organization and Functions. The Office of Multicultural Education was responsible for implementing the components of the multicultural program throughout the district. During the first full year of implementation (the 1990-91 school year), the Office was located at Prospect, and the Director shared responsibility with the Prospect Principal for the development of the program in Prospect.

The program's organizational structure was modified during the summer of 1991 to permit program expansion in the district and for continued development of the Prospect model. One major change divided program responsibilities between the Director of Multicultural Education, who had authority over program expansion, and the Principal of Prospect, who had authority over all aspects of the multicultural program implemented in the building.

A second major change entailed the relocation of the District Office of Multicultural Education from Prospect to the Board of Education building and an increase in the staff of the Office of Multicultural Education. The staff, which initially consisted of the Director and his secretary, increased when eight Multicultural Education Resource Teachers were added. These resource teachers had responsibility for coordination, training, dissemination, and technical assistance at Prospect and throughout the district. Resource teachers had responsibility in a content area (curriculum, conflict resolution, and cultural awareness). One additional multicultural resource teacher was added in the 1991-92 school year. The unit now has six resource teachers and seventeen partner teachers.

The structure and functions of the Office of Multicultural Education as of 1992 is shown in Figure 2.1.

Figure 2.1. Organization and Activities of the Office of Multicultural Education.


Superintendent
Multicultural Steering Committee
Deputy Supt., Elementary Management
Associate Superintendent, Curriculum
Director, Multicultural Education
Director, Staff Development
Principal, Prospect Center
Associate Directors (2)
Human Resource Teachers
Partner Teachers

In both the 1991-92 and 1992-93 school years, two Associate Directors from the District Staff Development Office coordinated training in conflict resolution, cultural awareness, and learning styles. They also provided other forms of support, such as coaching administrators and trainers in the implementation of multicultural components and developing a multimedia library on training in the three content areas.

District expansion. Cultural awareness, conflict resolution, and learning styles are to be implemented throughout the district over a 5-year period that began during the 1991-92 school year. Pittsburgh's 23 elementary, 14 middle,, and 11 secondary schools are included in the expansion plan, which calls for schools to adopt program elements in phases. Each school (or grade across schools) will participate in one phase per year in a given program strand until all phases are complete. Schools and grades will enter the dissemination stream on a staggered basis. Further information on the district context is presented in Chapter 10.

Other Activities. *Multicultural Perspectives* is the newsletter of the Office of Multicultural Education. The newsletter was published three times during the 1991-92 school year, and four times during the 1992-93 school year.

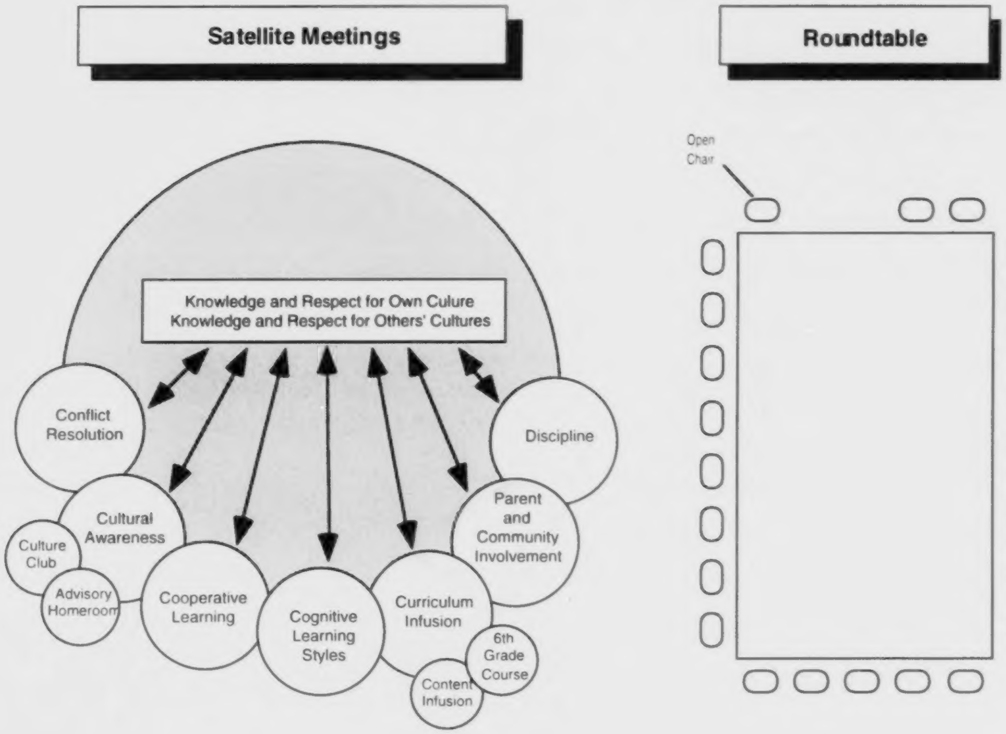
The Office also conducted Multicultural Forums, which featured presentations by noted scholars and educators. Two public forums were conducted during 1991-92 and two during 1992-93. Board of Visitors' meetings were conducted twice a year.

The Model Program at Prospect

Organization. The School-Based Coordinator has day-to-day responsibility for implementation. The Coordinator's position was full time during school years 1990-91 and 1991-92, but the position was reduced to half time in 1992-93. Three different persons, one in each program year, served as Coordinator.

As proposed in the design for the program, Human Resource Teachers (HRTs, who are also known as site-based trainers) were selected in the spring 1990 semester and were relieved of a portion of their regular classroom assignments. Fifteen teachers were selected, on the basis of classroom performance and quality of participation in the planning process, to serve in 1990-91. During the 1991-92 school year, 13 HRTs and 1 replacement teacher supported the program at Prospect. By the end of the 1992-93 school year, there were 12 HRTs. Only 6 of these were members of the original group.

Figure 2.2. Prospect Multicultural Center "Supercabinet."


Satellite Meetings
Roundtable
Knowledge and Respect for Own Culure
Knowledge and Respect for Others' Cultures
Conflict Resolution
Discipline
Cultural Awareness
Culture Club
Advisory Homeroom
Cooperative Learning
Cognitive Learning Styles
Curriculum Infusion
Parent and Community Involvement
6th Grade Course
Content Infusion
Open Chair

A "Supercabinet," which the Principal proposed in September 1991 and the Board approved in November 1991, is the school governing structure. As Figure 2.2 shows, the Supercabinet is divided into seven satellites, one for each of the six multicultural strands, and a seventh for discipline. The Principal chairs the discipline group and teachers and administrators chair the others. Each faculty member and administrator serves on one of the satellites, which met during the school year on the first Thursday of each month. Through their respective chairpersons, members of the satellites have input into the Supercabinet Roundtable, which met on the third Thursday. The Roundtable includes Instructional Team Leaders, Human Resource Teachers, administrators, a union representative, and two parents.

Cognitive Learning and Teaching Styles. At the start of the 1991-92 school year, HRTs trained in learning styles introduced the remaining Prospect faculty to the approach. Teachers completed a Learning Styles Inventory (LSI) and other measures to gauge their own preferences, received an overview of the interpretation of the inventory, and considered topics such as the use of tactual and kinesthetic materials in classrooms.

By the end of the school year, all sixth graders, seventh graders in one instructional team, and students receiving services for emotional support had been assessed with the LSI. Plans were developed for training staff in room redesign, and five parents were trained to interpret LSI and homework profiles. During the 1992-93 school year, further staff training in learning styles was conducted. Training resulted in visible changes in classrooms.

Cultural Awareness. The cultural awareness strand at Prospect consisted primarily of the Advisory Homeroom, the Culture Clubs, and special events and activities (such as a Christmas concert and Kwanzaa celebration).

Advisory Homerooms were initiated during the 1990-91 school year and continued over the life of the project. These were established by lengthening the standard homeroom period. Advisory Homerooms, composed of small groups of students, met daily for 27 minutes.

The homerooms are used to orient students to the school, create a sense of belonging, provide a place for students to voice their concerns, and provide activities to increase student awareness of ethnic, racial, and cultural groups. During the first year of operation, actual activities included review of vocabulary and math concepts and other academic or enrichment assignments that the teachers devised. Over the summer of 1992 and during subsequent months of the school year, one of the HRTs developed the curriculum for the Advisory Homeroom. The lessons cover all areas of the multicultural program and use diverse instructional materials and procedures. The HRT responsible for this activity distributed materials weekly and collected feedback monthly for revisions. During the summer of 1992 and into the fall semester, a seventh-grade Advisory Homeroom curriculum was prepared and implemented.

The Culture Club was organized for African-American boys during the 1990-91 school year and continued through the end of the 1992-93 school year. The club is based on a model of reference-group identity developed by Jerome Taylor, former director of the Black Family Institute at the University of Pittsburgh. The club's activities focus on building positive personal and reference-group identity through group discussions, presentations on cultural values and heroes, and parental involvement. Meetings took place during the school day, but were scheduled so that members would miss any one subject only once every seven weeks. Approximately 30 students were members.

African-American girls requested a similar club during the 1991-92 school year. This club, called Images, enrolled approximately 35 girls who engaged in activities to develop self-esteem and positive attitudes.

Other activities over the years include cultural awareness training for teachers, conducted during 1991-92 through the school year in eight, half-hour sessions, multicultural banners created by students and displayed in the school, and a production of Moliere's "*Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme*."

Cooperative Learning. Teachers in the content areas have been encouraged to use cooperative learning strategies in their classrooms since the 1990-91 school year. Formal training began during the 1991-92 school year and included instruction for three HRTs in the Johnson and Johnson model of cooperative learning. This training was conducted by the Allegheny Intermediate Unit. In addition, the district provided training to six reading teachers and two math teachers.

In 1992-93, teachers continued to be encouraged to implement cooperative learning. The Principal directed that each teacher was to identify one group of students per week who would engage in cooperative learning, and two HRTs who received training the previous year coached individual teachers. During the spring of 1993, science teachers were trained (science lessons had already been scripted for group learning), and further training for math teachers was planned.

Conflict Resolution. The conflict resolution component consists of two major activities. The first is training. During the first school year (1990-91), six teachers were trained in mediation. Two additional HRTs were fully trained during the 1991-92 school year.

The second major activity is the Mediation Center, which opened in October 1991, and during the 1992-93 school year was staffed by eight trained teachers (who spend a portion of their time in the Center). At the discretion of a Dean, students involved in disputes can choose mediation over other disciplinary action if both students agree to mediation. Mediation was added to the disciplinary referral form as an option, and the Supercabinet agreed to develop a pilot program in which teachers make direct referrals.

The Mediation Center is open for five of seven periods. As of May 1993, 118 mediations had been conducted. Followup is conducted by the Deans.

Parent and Community Involvement. During the 1992-93 school year, a Parent-Teacher Organization was started with a core group of 18 parents. Also, a video was prepared that will be shown at feeder elementary schools to publicize the Prospect program.

Other events in previous school years have included Open House (in the school and in community locations), Family Fun Night, Kwanzaa Celebration, Holiday Festival of the Arts, and the Ethnic Fair. During the 1991-92 school year, parents of eighth graders in one team visited the school and accompanied their children to class for half of one day. A home/school program, "Read 2gether," was implemented during the second semester.

Over the summer of 1992, the program arranged for Prospect students to participate in activities sponsored by community organizations. For example, 30 girls were admitted to a summer science program at LaRoche College, and 8 students were accepted by "Investing Now," a program that provides support services for prospective college students.

Elimination of Tracking. Prospect took steps to eliminate instructional grouping by ability and race. In Chapter 9, we discuss the implementation of this component.

Current Status

The special funds raised from foundations were phased out as planned during the summer of 1993. The Director and staff of the Office of Multicultural Education were absorbed, with district funds, into the Division of Support Services. This unit continues to carry out its roles in training, implementation, and planning. At Prospect, many of the innovations remain in the regular program, including the Mediation Center and the Advisory Homeroom.

SECTION II.

THE CHALLENGES

In this section we report on six challenges the multicultural education program faces: (1) achieving respect and understanding for all groups, (2) gaining community confidence in the school, (3) securing ownership of the multicultural ideal among staff, students, parents, the community, and the school system, (4) fostering student psychosocial development, (5) enhancing students' career and educational aspirations, and (6) furthering the academic achievement of all groups.

Chapter 3. Respect and Understanding for All

The idea that groups with diverse origins and varied personal characteristics, needs, and values should be able to coexist — and that society will benefit from the participation of all these groups — is widely but by no means universally endorsed. The Prospect Demonstration Program is intended to produce greater endorsement of this multicultural ideal.

In this chapter we present some measures of this goal, show that the multicultural ideal is endorsed by most persons touched by the program at Prospect, and report on how sentiment about the pluralistic ideal is evolving over time.

Students

A direct way of gauging respect and understanding of different groups is to ask questions of students and teachers about their views and perceptions. In surveys conducted in the spring of 1991 and again in the springs of 1992 and 1993 we asked if Black and White students want to work together in the school. Results are shown in Table 3.1. The most important finding is that the majority of African-American and European-American students agree that the groups want to work together. Indeed, a majority of each group at each time period agreed that Black and White students want to work together. A statistically significant sex difference seen in 1991 is not seen in the responses in later years; both boys and girls are now about equally likely to agree that Blacks and Whites want to work together.

The lower percentage of agreement that Black and White students want to work together in the most recent year is not quite statistically significant (p = .06), but the lower agreement percentages among students in higher grades is

Table 3.1. Black and White students want to work together in this school: Percentage of students who agreed in 1991, 1992, and 1993.

Group	Percentage who agreed			N		
	1991	1992	1993	1991	1992	1993
All students	75	77	71	398	360	359
Black students	77	78	76	186	193	174
White students	72	79	65	180	146	161
Girls	81	77	69	205	200	177
Boys	68	77	73	192	158	180
6th graders	85	79	73	121	140	150
7th graders	74	79	82	136	100	119
8th graders	66	72	54	141	120	90

statistically significant ($p < .001$).[1] A particularly marked decline in the percentage of students agreeing that Black and White students want to work together is evident for the cohort of students who were in the sixth grade in 1991 (85% agreeing), in the seventh grade in 1992 (79% agreeing), and in the eighth grade in 1993 (54% agreeing).

Each year we also asked if White and Black students do help each other at school. The results are shown in Table 3.2. Again, the most important observation is that most students in all groups say that students of different ethnic groups do want to help each other. Overall percentages agreeing are not quite significantly different from year to year, but girls significantly more often agreed than did boys. Again, students in higher grades were significantly less often in agreement than students in lower grades.[2] A drop in the percentage of the cohort of students who were in the sixth grade in 1991 is again notable as these students progressed through the grades (83% grade 6, 80% grade 7, 68% grade 8).

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[1] The direction of the trend over time also differs significantly for boys and girls and for students in different grades. The significant interaction for grade by year is highlighted in the text discussion of the cohort that was in grade six in 1991.

[2] Sex difference, p , .001; grade difference, p , .05. The grade-by-year interaction discussed in the text by highlighting the results for the cohort in grade six in the first year is significant, p , .03; as is a year-by-sex interaction, p , .01.

Table 3.2. White and Black students help each other at school: Percentage of students who agreed in 1991, 1992, and 1993.

	Percentage who agreed			N		
Group	1991	1992	1993	1991	1992	1993
All students	73	78	71	393	362	355
Black students	74	79	74	184	194	170
White students	73	79	69	178	147	163
Girls	84	82	70	202	201	176
Boys	61	73	71	190	159	177
6th graders	83	79	68	120	140	148
7th graders	72	80	76	134	101	120
8th graders	64	75	68	139	121	87

An additional way to view mutual respect and understanding is to define it as the absence of "prejudice." Prejudices are evaluative, and the contents of prejudice are "stereotypes." We assume prejudices are harmful when they perpetuate separation among groups, disable any group, are used to justify limitations on opportunities, or infect the thinking and actions of social groups.

We asked Prospect's students each year about stereotypes of Black and White students. The results resemble the results that similar inquiries elsewhere have long produced. Black students were seen as "loud" and White students were seen as "stuck up." White students were far less likely to stereotype Black students than White students as "intelligent." Black students were far more likely than White students to stereotype White students as "hypocritical." To a remarkable degree, similar stereotypes were shared by both Black and White students. The details of results for specific stereotypes are similar each year we asked these questions, and the details based on the 1991 survey of students are shown in Figures 3.1 and 3.2.

Figure 3.1. White and Black students want to work together at Prospect: Percentage of students who agree, 1991.

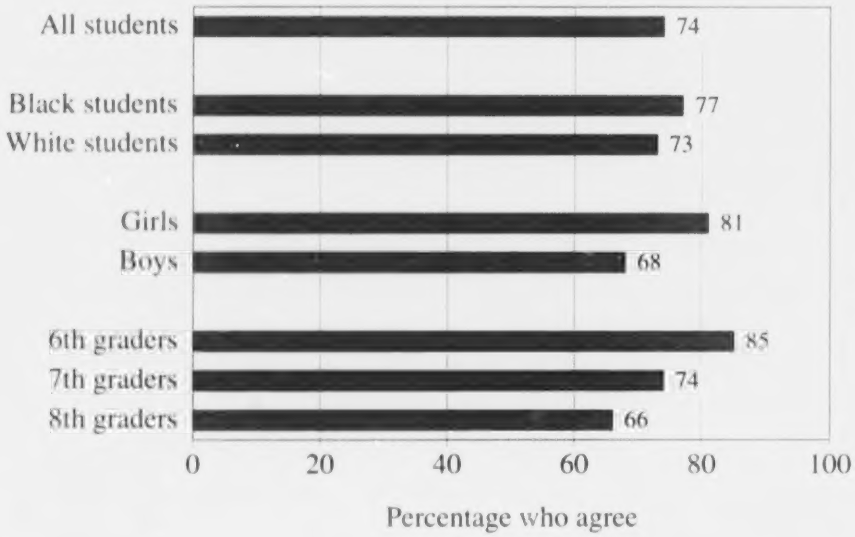
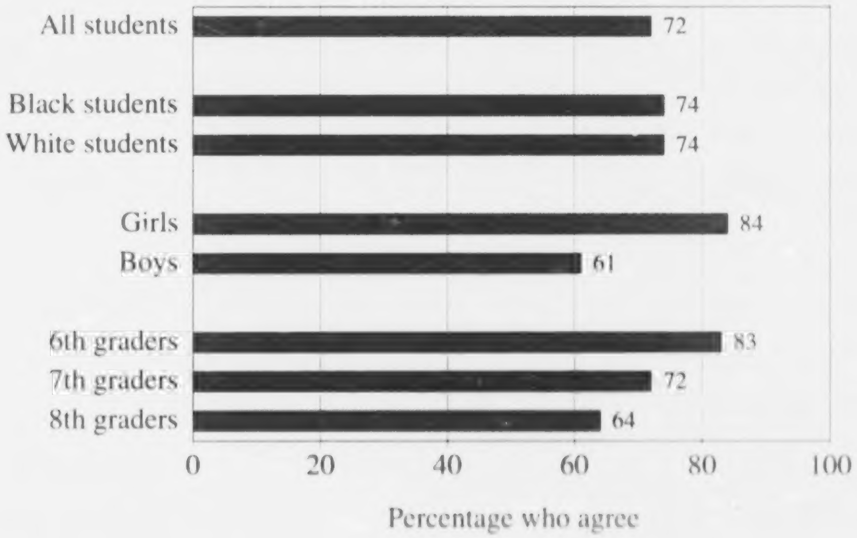


Figure 3.2. White and Black students help each other at school: Percentage of students who agree, 1991.



To learn whether the demonstration school is making progress in reducing negative stereotypes, we composed an index by combining responses to twelve items. Comparisons of this index, which can be interpreted as the percentage of negative stereotypes about a group endorsed by respondents, are shown in Table 3.3.

Table 3.3. Average percentage of negative stereotypes about racial groups endorsed by students in 1991, 1992, and 1993.

	Negative stereotypes about	
Respondent group	White students	Black students
White students		
1991	30	44
1992	34	42
1993	32	42
Black students		
1991	43	37
1992	48	36
1993	44	35

For example, the average White student endorsed 44% of the negative stereotypes of Black students in 1991, and the average Black student endorsed 43% of the negative stereotypes of White students that year. The percentages shown in Table 3.3 have a margin of error of 3 or 4 points, so the only statistically significant change in stereotypes observed is a shift towards more negative stereotypes about White students between 1991 and 1992. The general portrait is one of stability in the levels of stereotypes held about both Black and White students.

The student reports summarized in Tables 3.2 and 3.3 converge in implying that (a) most Black and White students do appear to want to help and work with students of the other race, (b) evidence does not suggest that there has been increases in the endorsement of these sentiments, (c) older students are less likely than younger students to endorse these sentiments, and (d) the one cohort that experienced all three years of the program shows a drop in the endorsement of statements implying intergroup cooperation. In these respects, the program does not appear to have been successful in promoting intergroup cooperation.

The educational climate at Prospect was assessed in another way by using the Effective School Battery[3] in surveys of students conducted in December 1990 and again in January 1992. Respect and understanding should be fostered by an environment characterized by safety, respect for students, fairness of rules, clarity of rules, and student influence. Students described the school in terms of these five aspects of climate.

Prospect was usually in the average range (when compared to norms for similar schools) on safety, the extent to which students felt they were treated with dignity, the fairness of the school's rules, and student influence. The students reported that they knew the school rules and the consequences for violating them. There was little change in these student reports of school climate between 1990 and 1992.

School Staff

Members of the staff at Prospect —teachers, administrators, clerical personnel, and aides — generally endorse ideals of cultural pluralism. In a September 1991 survey and again in June of 1992 and 1993, we asked staff directly if they endorsed each of the goals of the multicultural program. Individuals overwhelminigly said that a goal of the program should be "to promote a climate of respect and understanding of all races and ethnic groups." In the 1993 survey, 100% of staff endorsed this goal. Although endorsement rates were not as high as 100% for all specific aims of the program (see Chapter 5), the extent of concordance with the core goal is impressive.

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[3] G. D. Gottfredson (1984). *Effective school battery user's manual.* Odessa, FL: Psychological Assessment Resources.

Table 3.4. Black and White staff want to work together in this school — Percentage of staff who strongly agree, 1991, 1992, and 1993.

Group and year	Percent	N
Total		
1991	37	78
1992	48	65
1993	36	62
White respondents		
1991	44	45
1992	58	36
1993	39	36
Black respondents		
1991	31	26
1992	43	21
1993	26	23
Female		
1991	38	52
1992	49	45
1993	33	39
Male		
1991	39	23
1992	50	18
1993	38	21
Teacher		
1991	50	50
1992	59	44
1993	38	45
Other than teacher		
1991	14	28
1992	24	21
1993	29	17
New staff		
1991	47	15
1992	61	18
1993	25	12
Continuing staff		
1991	35	62
1992	46	41
1993	39	49

Note. Only the drop in endorsement among teachers between 1992 and 1993 is statistically significant.

Staff members overwhelmingly report that "Black and White staff want to work together in this school." As Table 3.4 shows, a larger percentage strongly agreed with this statement in 1992 than in 1991, but the difference between the years in this opinion was not significant. The drop in strong agreement between 1992 and 1993 (approximately returning to the level of agreement in 1991) was statistically significant. The difference between teachers and other school staff was statistically significant, with teachers more often than other staff expressing the opinion that Black and White staff want to work together.

Some evidence implies a difference of opinion between Black staff and White staff in the degree of positive relations between Black and White people in the school. White staff more often than Black staff strongly agreed that the two groups want to help each other. A difference in opinion can be seen in Table 3.5, which shows the percentages of Black and White staff who strongly agreed with a statement that White people in the school want to see African Americans get a better break.

Table 3.5. Percentage strongly agreeing that most White people in this school want to see African Americans get a better break.

Group	Percent	N
Black staff		
1991	11	26
1992	5	19
1993	10	21
White staff		
1991	33	42
1992	35	34
1993	38	32

Note. For each year, the race difference is statistically significant.

Despite the generally positive evidence about intergroup relations, some staff members believe that teachers would rather be in a school without pupils from a different race. Table 3.6 shows the percentage of staff agreeing that teachers would rather be in a school without pupils from a different race in both 1991, 1992, and 1993. African-American respondents and men more often agree than do European-American respondents or women (significantly so only in 1992). Evidently men and Black staff are somewhat less likely to perceive a pluralistic sentiment among their colleagues in the school. Evidence from our open-ended questionnaires of the staff supports this interpretation to some degree: One African American wrote in her 1992 questionnaire that some European-American teachers "hide their true feelings about making the program successful."

As an additional means of assessing intergroup relations in the school, staff members made ratings of the degree of teamwork versus conflict between Black and White teachers and between teachers and their students. Very little conflict between Black teachers and White teachers was reported in 1991, but the percentage of school staff reporting such conflict increased each year — to 11% in 1992 and 17% in 1993. Details presented in one of our earlier reports showed that the majority of every subgroup of staff reported teamwork rather than conflict between Black and White teachers, although some disharmony was reflected in the responses of a minority of most groups.[4] A similar portrait emerged from ratings of teamwork between Black teachers and White students; the majority of respondents of all subgroups reported that teamwork characterized the relations.

But this image contrasted with staff reports of relations between White teachers and Black students. Only a minority of Black staff (and male staff) said teamwork described relations; 37% of Black staff reported that conflict described relations between White teachers and Black students (compared with 7% of White respondents).

Much more conflict characterizes the school in the 1993 assessment than in either of the previous years. The percentage of staff reporting conflict between the principal and the teachers more than doubled from 17% to 38% in 1992, and

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[4] See Figure 3.9 in G. D. Gottfredson, S. M. Nettles, & B. McHugh (1992). *Meeting the challenges of multicultural education* (Report No. 27). Baltimore: Center for Research on Effective Schooling for Disadvantaged Students, Johns Hopkins University.

Table 3.6. Percentage of staff agreeing or strongly agreeing that teachers would rather be in a school without pupils from a different race, 1991, 1992, and 1993.

Group and year	Percent	N
Total		
1991	12	76
1992	14	62
1993	11	63
White respondents		
1991	11	45
1992	6	36
1993	5	37
Black respondents		
1991	17	24
1992	26	19
1993	17	23
Female		
1991	8	50
1992	12	43
1993	12	40
Male		
1991	21	24
1992	18	17
1993	10	21
Teacher		
1991	14	51
1992	5	43
1993	13	46
Other		
1991	8	25
1992	37	19
1993	6	17
New		
1991	7	14
1992	11	18
1993	0	12
Continuing		
1991	13	61
1992	15	39
1993	14	50

Note. In 1992, the percentage agreeing differed significantly by both race and sex; no 1993 difference among groups was significant. The 19 non-teaching staff were more likely to endorse this item in 1992 than in either 1991 or 1993.

by 1993 46% of staff reported conflict between teachers and the principal. These results, and results for other groups, are shown in Table 3.7.

Table 3.7. Percentage of staff reporting conflict between selected groups in 1991, 1992, and 1993.

Percent reporting conflict			
1991	1992	1993	Between
24	35	54	Deans and teachers
17	38	46	Principal and teachers
4	25	33	ITLs and the principal
8	14	29	Union and building management
9	15	26	Faculty as a whole
24	24	24	Local businesses and the school
13	14	22	Multicultural program and general school program
12	22	21	Teachers and students
	16	21	Deans and the multicultural program
9	13	19	HRTs and the principal
4	13	19	Principal and the multicultural project
8	11	17	Black teachers and White teachers
20	19	14	White teachers and Black students
9	12	14	ITLs and other faculty
10	23	13	Parents and teachers
9	7	10	HRTs and ITLs
4	14	8	Black teachers and White students
1	3	5	Male and female staff

Note. Numbers of school staff reporting in 1991 ranged from 69 to 77, in 1992 from 59 to 65, and in 1993 from 61 to 66.

To explore whether this increase in perceived conflict was due primarily to one category of staff, we separately examined the ratings of Black staff, White staff, men, women, teachers, other staff, new staff, and continuing staff. Each of these subgroups reported increased conflict.

Table 3.7 also shows that the tendency to perceive more conflict in 1992 and more yet in 1993 was general, with most categories characterized by somewhat more conflict in the more recent assessment. Especially striking is the level of conflict reported between the deans (essentially assistant principals) and the teachers. A relatively high 24% of staff had reported conflict between these groups in 1991, and by 1993 the percentage more than doubled to 54%. Increasing conflict culminated, by 1993, in each of the following groups being characterized by conflict rather than neutrality or cooperation by more than 20% of staff: deans and teachers, principal and teachers, Instructional Team Leaders and the principal, union and management, the faculty as a whole, local businesses and the school, the multicultural program and the general school program, teachers and students, and deans and the multicultural program. In 1991, only conflict between deans and teachers and between local businesses and the school had been reported by more than 20% of staff — and school-business tension remained at the same level, reported by 24% of respondents each of the three years.

Conflict related to school leadership and management is more salient in Table 3.7 than conflict related to the multicultural program or issues of race.

In response to the open-ended questions at the end of the spring 1992 staff survey, some respondents wrote about the level of conflict in the school and its effect on the program. One — an African American — wrote that the program may fail because the "administration is basically conflicted [about] the program. Power, inconsistency are damaging factors." Another — a European American — wrote that "the need to control rather than facilitate is too great to allow anything significant to be accomplished."

Teachers' written comments in the spring 1993 survey were more blunt. Among them: (1) "The program is a good idea." The one most helpful change would be "a new principal to direct the implementation of the project. There is no morale in this building." (2) The program needs "leadership, both district wide and in the building." The one most helpful change would be "to change the leadership. . . . We need some positive direction. We . . . see administrators justifying their jobs with . . . statistics and proposals to do great things. Nothing is happening." (3) The best thing about the multicultural education program is "a teaching staff that still manages to try every day despite the roadblocks and petty posturing of the administration." The worst thing is "that such a talented and motivated staff can be so completely demoralized by the actions of three administrators." (4) "Lack of support from the administration. They don't treat teachers as professionals. They question our judgment at every turn and their first assumption is that the teacher is wrong." The most helpful change would be "a new administration." There were more open-ended comments along these lines.

Other open-ended comments also expressed exasperation with leadership — district leadership. Among them: (1) The most helpful change would be for the Board "not to touch Prospect by [re]moving staff. . . . Rumors that this person [is to be] cut, that person cut! Is there going to be a program next year or not? Will HRTs continue on their mission? [In the beginning] we were strong. Then, over the next few years things began to dwindle. Year 2 we lost staff because of seniority. It was then that the breakdown began. We lost many staff members who were dedicated and received those who were not. The Board of Education needs to realize you can't disrupt the flow." (2) The multicultural program "isn't taken seriously enough by our district." There is a "lack of support at the central administration and the district level." The most helpful change would be to "tie [the program] into teacher evaluation or accountability." (3) The worst things are "the attempts made to sabotage the success of the Prospect model, the lack of district support, staff cuts, elimination of key positions. . . . Teachers should not feel any of the pressures of Board Politics. A hands-off approach should have been taken."

Occasionally, staff members' open-ended contributions spoke of specific individuals who were perceived as obstacles and, in the respondents' views, should be removed. Sometimes these were administrators, sometimes teachers. And a few remarks expressed concerns about the balance with which multicultural emphasis was applied — either too much emphasis on the contributions and needs of African-American students or too little emphasis in that direction.

One clear cachet marked nearly all responses — they appeared heartfelt. Bitterness, frustration, and anger were expressed, but there was little criticism of the ideals that the program was to stand for.

Parents

Some parents are less supportive of cultural pluralism at Prospect than are the students and staff who spend substantial portions of their time in the school. Because most parents do not have the detailed knowledge of program content that students and teachers have, it is not possible to describe parents' views in a way that directly parallels the information we have from students and faculty. The available information implies that parental support for the program is sometimes problematic.

We conducted brief surveys of parents by mailing questionnaires to parents of students enrolled in Prospect and to parents of fifth graders in feeder schools in August of 1991, 1992, and 1993. White parents were less likely than Black parents to report that White and Black students get along at Prospect Middle School — 45% of White parents disagreed that students got along in 1991. White parents' perceptions of racial harmony appear even less positive in the more recent assessment (see Table 3.8).

Although Black parents expressed predominantly positive attitudes about the school's program, its safety, and attempts to increase knowledge and awareness of all cultural groups in our 1991 survey, attitudes of many White parents were less positive.

Between 1991 and 1992 the percentage of African-American parents responding that the school is safe and orderly fell from 92% to 59%, and the corresponding percentages for White parents responding fell from 55% to 40% (see Table 3.9). A well-publicized disturbance in the school probably contributed to the drop in the perceptions of safety following the 1992 school year. In the most recent parent survey, perceptions of safety were somewhat higher — 85% of Black and 45% of White parents reported that they viewed the school as safe and orderly in the 1993 survey.

Table 3.8. White and Black students get along in Prospect Middle School: Percentage of parents who agree or strongly agree.

Group and year	Percent	N
All parents		
1991	64	108
1992	52	92
1993	54	91
African-American parents		
1991	86	35
1992	86	37
1993	81	26
European-American parents		
1991	55	69
1992	33	49
1993	44	59

Table 3.9. The school is safe and orderly: Percentage of parents who agree or strongly agree.

Group and year	Percent	N
All parents		
1991	67	108
1992	45	93
1993	56	94
African-American parents		
1991	92	35
1992	59	37
1993	85	27
European-American parents		
1991	55	69
1992	40	50
1993	45	60

We gave parents the opportunity in open-ended questions to tell us about their views of the school. Overall, parents offered about as many positive comments as negative comments — and this is true of both Black and White parents. Many of the responses from both the Black and White parents are bluntly negative — even desperate — in tone. The following are verbatim transcriptions of some responses in the 1992 and 1993 surveys:

> "Violent atmosphere, not enough security and supervision in the school, and the bus rides to and from school are an adventure in terror." (Black mother)

> "Over the past seven years, all the children of my neighbors have been harassed in some form at Prospect. Some were beaten up, some were stabbed with pencils or umbrellas, some were verbally abused. My children will never attend Prospect." (White parent)

The foregoing illustrate very frequent parent concerns about safety and disorder. These concerns were much more often expressed by White parents.

A second category of negative comments expresses rejection of multicultural curriculum content. These comments were made only by White parents, and we illustrate some of them in Chapter 5. Sometimes these remarks combined expressions of feelings that White students or culture were being discriminated against with an expression of disrespect towards the school. For example:

> "One more year and my son will be out of that Animal House. I dislike, 'attitude and reverse discrimination.' (White parent)

> "They cater to Black students and all they talk about is Black people and Africa, and they do nothing when a White person gets picked on or beaten up." (White parent)

A third category includes frank racial antagonism, mostly from White parents.

> "My daughter is afraid of the Black kids." (White mother)

> "There are regular fights in the school between rival Black gangs from different parts of the city. Nothing is said in the news, and very little is done about it. If students were not bussed to other schools and went to their own neighborhood school, none of this would happen." (White parent)
>
> "The Blacks outnumber the Whites!" (White parent)
>
> "The Blacks are bussed in from neighborhoods where drugs and guns are a normal part of their daily life. I don't want my son to be subjected to this. . . . This multicultural stuff is bullshit." (White parent).

Praise for the school from White parents usually was for the concern specific teachers had for students, not for the multicultural program. Most often, White parents who expressed dislike for the multicultural program thought it lacked balance. Perceptions that multicultural education at Prospect really is Black monocultural education were strongly expressed by many White parents. Black parents' open-ended comments were mostly positive.

African-American parents' negative comments mostly pertained to school unruliness — fights, lack of discipline, lack of control. One complained of biased curriculum or favoritism for one race over another. In the most recent parent survey, several African-American parents complained that there were too many suspensions and that disciplinary incidents required them to visit the school (sometimes repeatedly) for matters they thought could be handled by telephone.

Finally, in contrast to frequent complaints by White parents about the mixed racial composition of the school, one Black parent wrote that the thing she liked most about the school is that "the children are mixed, that is Black and White children going to school together."

Summary

Clearly, much remains to be done to meet the challenge of achieving a climate that reflects respect and understanding for all groups. Whereas most students and most teachers want to work together, obstacles to doing so remain.

- Stereotypes potentially working to the disadvantage of both Black and White students are widely shared by both Black and White students. There is no evidence of a decrease in negative stereotypes.
- Conflict between the teachers and the school administration has increased. The majority of staff members report conflict (rather than neutrality or cooperation) between the deans and the teachers and 46% report conflict with the principal.
- Nearly all White staff report commitment to multicultural ideals, but there is evidence that this commitment is doubted by at least some staff members.
- Parental perceptions of the school's program — especially school safety — seem to be eroding among African-American and European-American parents. Even in the 1991 survey of parents, White parents' perceptions of the school were mixed, with a substantial minority of White parents expressing negative reactions to multicultural integrated education.
- Openly expressed bigotry and fear characterize the attitudes of many White parents. These attitudes, and their communication in the neighborhood surrounding the school, are sad testaments to where the multicultural program now stands in achieving respect and understanding for all.

Chapter 4. Community Confidence in Prospect

Before Prospect Multicultural Center opened in September 1989, the alliance between the school and the community was a tenuous one. Relations between African Americans and European Americans, within the school and beyond, were openly hostile. Many parents were concerned about their children's safety and the academic standing of the school. White parents in particular feared that the school's role as a neighborhood institution would be compromised, whereas Black parents felt alienated in an unfamiliar neighborhood.

During the 1988-89 school year, extensive outreach occurred in the Hill district. But, as one report noted, "teachers responded with timid enthusiasm to weekly requests for progress reports and to having parent volunteers in their classrooms" (PEFORUM, Fall 1988). The principal, who took over in the Fall 1989 after selecting a new staff, encouraged teachers to reach out to parents through phone contacts, special breakfasts, and other activities.

The support for the school and its outreach was reflected in our first survey, conducted in 1991. During the 1991-92 school year, the school experienced a highly publicized fight involving students from different neighborhoods, and responses from the survey conducted in 1992 showed a downward shift in parental attitudes. However, in 1993 parents are more upbeat though not at the levels of the first survey. The following paragraphs summarize the evidence.

Parents

The majority of parents still believe the school tries to involve them. This is reflected in responses to the structured survey item, "the school reaches out to involve parents" (Table 4.1). Agreement among Black parents declined from 94% and 95% in 1991 and 1992, respectively, to 89% in 1993. Agreement among

Whites, which decreased from 83% to 67% from 1991 to 1992, increased in 1993 to 78%.

Table 4.1. The school reaches out to involve parents: Percentage of parents who agree or strongly agree.

Group and year	Percent	N
All parents		
1991	85	109
1992	78	93
1993	79	92
African-American parents		
1991	94	35
1992	95	38
1993	89	27
European-American parents		
1991	83	69
1992	67	49
1993	78	59

The general perception that the school reaches out to parents receives declining support from parents' concrete reports of specific contacts initiated by the school. In 1991 eighty percent said that someone from the school contacted them by phone; the corresponding percentage in 1992 was 77%. But by 1993 only 58% reported that someone contacted them. The percentage (66%) who said in 1991 that they had received written materials was down to 56% in 1992 and up only slightly to 58% in 1993. In each of the years, a minority of parents was visited at home by someone from the school. The percentages were 23%, 22%, and 15% of the Black parents in 1991, 1992, and 1993 respectively, and 4%, 6%, and 3% of the White parents for the three survey years.

Parents reported higher levels of participation in events that were planned especially for them. Visits to the school for open house or another parent activity fell among European Americans from a high of 94% in 1991, to 84% and 75% in 1992 and 1993, however. The corresponding percentages were 83%, 67%, and 59% among African-American parents. Roughly equal percentages of parents in 1991 and 1992 (64% and 61% respectively) reported that they attended a play, musical, or other special event; and about half in both years visited the school because their child had a problem. However, these levels of participation declined in 1993 to 51% who attended plays and 39% who visited due to a child's problem. Declining percentages of parents reported calling their child's Advisory Homeroom teacher (65%, 56%, and 40% in each of the three years respectively). There was little change from 1991 to 1992 on the percentages who called another teacher or member of the staff (68% in 1991; 66% in 1992), but the percentage of parents who took this action declined in 1993 to 56%. In each year of the survey, about 25% of parents reported that they met with a member of the school staff at a community center, and roughly half said they attended a report-card meeting.

Parents responded to two questions on their degree of confidence in the school. First, we asked parents if the school staff wants each child to succeed. African-American parents more often strongly agreed in 1991, but were less likely to agree in 1992 and 1993 (Table 4.2). A minority of European-American parents strongly endorsed this view in 1991, slightly fewer expressed strong agreement in 1992, and in 1993, agreement fell between that for 1991 and 1992. When we asked if they agreed that "Prospect Middle School has a sound academic program," the vast majority in both years agreed. African-American and European-American parents were less likely to agree in 1992 than in 1991, but the views of both groups were more favorable in 1993 than in 1992. (See Table 4.3.)

Table 4.2. The school staff wants each child to succeed: Percentage of parents who strongly agree.

Group and year	Percent	(N)
All parents		
1991	35	(109)
1992	27	(92)
1993	24	(95)
African-American parents		
1991	57	(35)
1992	38	(37)
1993	37	(27)
European-American parents		
1991	25	(69)
1992	18	(49)
1993	21	(61)

Table 4.3. Prospect Middle School has a sound academic program: Percentage of parents who agree or strongly agree.

Group and year	Percent	(N)
All parents		
1991	85	(108)
1992	74	(93)
1993	81	(93)
African-American parents		
1991	89	(36)
1992	79	(38)
1993	92	(27)
European-American parents		
1991	85	(68)
1992	73	(49)
1993	80	(59)

Open-ended comments about what parents like the most about Prospect reflect, as they did in 1992, the generally positive views of the teachers and other staff:

> "The teachers are kind and they have many activities for the kids."
> (Black parent)

> "The teachers take a no-nonsense attitude in teaching your child."
> (White parent)

> "Most of the teachers my son has had have been very concerned, they care. They like my child and they have helped and guided him. I will certainly miss Prospect after this year! Prospect gets parents involved." (Black parent)

> "If there is a problem, they will contact the parents. I'm glad to see there are more strict rules." (White parent)

> "The school staff goes out of its way to make sure each child succeeds." (Black parent)

> "The teachers told me she did have a problem and they did give her the help she needed. Sometimes I think that the other school just passed the buck and didn't want to help my child get the most out of school. I am very thankful to Prospect for caring and having teachers that give a child the help that she/he needs." (White parent)

In their open-ended responses to the 1991 and 1992 surveys, White parents commented that Prospect was conveniently located for their own children. In 1993, proximity was still an advantage: This feature was one of the most frequently cited comments in response to a question that asked parents to name the one thing they liked most about Prospect.

As in 1992, African-American parents in 1993 (about 20%) cited the school's geographic location as something that they disliked. This was in marked contrast to open-ended responses in 1991, when the issue received scant mention.

Staff

The school's staff generally endorses reaching out to the community, but with less enthusiasm than is shown for other school activities. We asked staff to rate the usefulness of seven types of activities: regular home visits, special programs for parents, parent or community member volunteers in the classroom, open-house welcome to school, reading or math classes for parents, Parent-Teacher Organization, and parenting skills training.

Most of the staff rated each of the activities as useful or very useful, although ratings in the very useful category declined from 1992 to 1993. Activities most frequently rated very useful were parenting skills training (50%, 52%, and 39% in 1991, 1992, and 1993,), Parent-Teacher Organization (42%, 44%, and 36%), open-house welcome to school (49% in 1991 and 1992, and 42% in 1993), and volunteers in the classroom (40% in 1991, 42% in 1992, and 32% in 1993).

A small minority (10%) of staff members characterized relations between themselves and parents as conflictual in the 1991 survey. The percentage doubled in 1992, but returned to 1991 levels in 1993. About 24% of the teachers viewed relations between the school and local businesses as conflictual in 1991, 1992, and 1993.

Summary

The majority of parents still believe that Prospect tries to involve them, that the school's academic program is a sound one, and that the staff genuinely wants each child to succeed. While the first-year survey produces encouraging specific evidence of participation, declines were evident during the 1992-93 school year. The evidence of concrete contacts eroded further in 1993-94. Home-school communication diminished over the three-year period, and there were declines in teacher ratings of other usefulness of various parental activities.

The widening discrepancy between behavior and attitude is striking: Prospect was unable to capitalize on the initial good will expressed in attitudes and behavior. Although the evidence suggests that strong dissatisfaction among a growing minority of European-American and African-American parents was a factor (see Chapter 4), the possibility cannot be ruled out that parents and teachers alike may be losing interest in the menu of activities offered to them.

Chapter 5. Program Ownership

The evidence shows that most staff, students, and parents endorse the multicultural program's goals. But aims are not endorsed to equal degrees, and differences in enthusiasm for the program are apparent for different groups of people. In addition, endorsing the program's goals is not the same as endorsing all the program's elements. Some elements are endorsed by only a minority of individuals. Finally, the level of program "ownership" or enthusiasm for aspects of the program are shifting as the program ages.

Students

Most students enjoy studying about the accomplishments of persons of different ethnic groups, and there are signs that students' acceptance of the idea of multicultural education increased somewhat since the program's inception. The percentage of students who report that they enjoy studying about different groups increased from 60% in 1991 to 69% and 66% in 1992 and 1993. (See Table 5.1.) Whereas only a minority of White boys endorsed this statement in 1991, almost three fifths of them now do.[1]

Staff

We noted earlier that members of the staff overwhelmingly indicated in a survey that promoting a climate of respect for and understanding of all races and ethnic groups should be a goal of the multicultural education program. Not all aims of the program are endorsed by staff at this high level, however. Initially, only three in four staff members said that increasing community-member participation should be an aim of the program, and 88% endorsed increasing parent participation as a goal. Table 5.2 shows that these aims are still far from universally endorsed. Small shifts up or down in the percentages of staff endorsing various program goals notwithstanding, Table 5.2 shows that staff usually support the programs' goals and objectives. This endorsement is usually overwhelming.

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[1] The percentage of students agreeing that they enjoy studying about the accomplishments of persons from different ethnic groups differed significantly by survey year. In addition, girls were significantly more likely to agree than boys and students in lower grades more likely to agree than students in higher grades. There was no significant difference in agreement for Black and White students.

Table 5.1. I enjoy studying about the accomplishments of persons of different ethnic groups: Student responses, 1991, 1992, and 1993.

	Percentage who agreed			N		
Group	1991	1992	1993	1991	1992	1993
All students	60	69	66	392	333	342
Black girls	67	67	69	90	96	72
White girls	67	81	65	96	73	81
Black boys	59	68	68	93	79	88
White boys	42	63	57	81	67	77

One teacher wrote that the program is "increasing the Black [students'] awareness that their ancestry is not just slavery but much more." Another said that "students are being recognized for who they are and given a forum. [The program] must be extended to other schools as soon as possible." Acceptance of the program goals by staff seems to be genuinely robust. In open-ended comments to the most recent staff survey (which revealed considerable demoralization and frustration over school administration, district support, and some aspects of program implementation), even those with serious dissatisfaction usually pointed out that they endorsed the program's goals or the ideas behind the program.

Table 5.2. Percentage of responding staff indicating that each of the following should be a goal or objective of the multicultural program.

1991	1992	1993	Goal or Objective
100	98	100	Promote a climate of respect and understanding of all races and ethnic groups
99	96	97	Reduce racial incidents among students
98	97	97	Introduce multiracial, multiethnic, and multicultural curriculum content into Prospect's instructional materials
98	97	95	Reduce insensitivity and bias by staff members towards cultural differences
95	97	94	Increase the connectedness of all students to the school (reduce alienation for all groups)
94	91	89	Increase student involvement in the school's activities
88	91	89	Increase the scores of students whose CAT scores are below the national average
99	91	88	Equalize the academic achievement of Black and White students
89	91	85	Increase the percentage of all students whose CAT scores are at or above the national average
88	73	74	Reduce suspensions for Black male students
88	92	72	Increase the participation of parents in making decisions about the school — its policies and practices
75	84	69	Increase the participation of other community members in making decisions about the school — its policies and practices

Note. Based on responses of 62 to 66 persons in the 1993 survey.

Program "ownership" applies not only to the aims of the program but also to the specific activities undertaken in the name of the program. We inventoried the opinions of school staff regarding the specific activities associated with the overall multicultural program. These include not only the major program components, but also other program activities or proposals connected with one or more of these components.

Table 5.3. Activities rated very useful by one or more respondents.

Activities	Percentage rated very useful		
	1991	1992	1993
Speakers or volunteers representing different ethnic/cultural groups in class	56	52	49
Parenting skills training	50	52	39
Open-house welcome to school for students and parents	49	49	42
Multicultural curriculum infusion	49	49	37
Parent-Teacher Organization	42	44	36
Peer tutors	48	43	35
Culture Club	38	43	36
Multicultural co-curricular activities (e.g., Kwanzaa program)	36	43	25
Conflict management	55	42	29
Parent or community member volunteers in the classroom	40	42	32
Multicultural course	42	42	27
Instructional Team Leaders	46	39	42
Reading or math classes for parents	38	35	32
Mediation Center	a	35	33
Use of neighborhood community centers	40	34	30
Instructional teams	40	34	45
Cooperative learning	41	33	27
Use of social services in school	36	32	38
Flexible scheduling within team	36	28	26
Public relations activities	32	26	24
Learning and teaching styles	46	26	38
Advisory homeroom	49	25	20
Regular home visits	33	20	14
Time-out room	26	20	27
Teacher progression	30	20	19
Methods of instruction in heterogeneous (nontracked) groups of students	24	17	19
Within-class ability grouping	25	15	11
Pittsburgh School-Based Management model	18	15	10
Program Development Evaluation/Johns Hopkins University	21	15	20
Elimination of tracking	10	14	6
Human Relations Teachers	26	14	11
School's racial achievement gap plan	37	14	28
Special programs for involving parents	36	14	21
Instructional action plans, student achievement profile, focused list	30	14	c
Board of Visitors' advice	8	6	5
Elimination of Scholars' Program	5	5	6
Image Club	a	b	39
CAT action plan	a	b	27
Pilot teachers	a	b	18
Supercabinet	a	b	18

[a] This item was not included in the 1991 Teacher Questionnaire.

[b] This item was not included in the 1992 Teacher Questionnaire.

[c] This item was replaced by the activity, CAT action plan.

Percentages of staff rating specific program components "very useful" in 1991, 1992, and 1993 are shown in Table 5.3. Activities such as the use of speakers representing diverse groups, open house for parents, and multicultural curriculum infusion received high ratings. Other activities — the Board of Visitors' advice, the elimination of a "scholars' program" and the elimination of tracking — were regarded as very useful only by a small minority of respondents. The more recent ratings reflect more pessimism than the earlier ratings, with a tendency for activities now to be rated very useful by smaller percentages of teachers. Of the 34 items included in both 1991 and 1993, 31 (or 91%) are rated very useful by a smaller percentage of respondents in the later year.

In our first assessment, four program features were regarded as either useless or harmful by more than 10% of the staff members. As the program evolved, opinions shifted so that 16 program features are now regarded as useless or harmful. The negative shift in staff attitudes about program components is quite general: The percentage of respondents who indicated that specific components were either useless or harmful increased for 30 (88%) of the 34 program components that we asked staff to rate in 1991 and again in 1993.

The percentages of respondents who rated each of a list of program components as useful or harmful in 1991, 1992, and 1993 are shown in Table 5.4. Elimination of the scholars' program was an action judged useless or harmful by 49% of respondents in 1991 and by 66% of respondents in the 1992 assessment, and 71% of respondents in 1993. In contrast, negative assessments of the elimination of tracking did not increase over the years.

Nevertheless many teachers continue to regard the elimination of tracking as harmful. When combined with other evidence that most teachers have explored or regularly use within-class ability grouping, this suggests that the success the school has had in limiting between-class ability grouping has produced other problems for instruction.

The Advisory Homeroom is a program innovation derived in part from the middle school movement. The Advisory Homeroom at Prospect had been popular with teachers, but it has come to be perceived in a more negative way. In 1991

Table 5.4. Activities that one or more respondents said were either useless or harmful.

Activity	Percentage rated useless or harmful		
	1991	1992	1993
Elimination of Scholars' Program	49	66	71
Elimination of tracking	42	30	39
Advisory homeroom	2	20	37
Board of Visitors' advice	16	25	34
Program Development Evaluation/Johns Hopkins	5	14	31
Time-out room	12	22	26
Human Relations Teachers	10	20	25
Supercabinet	a	a	18
CAT Action Plan	a	a	18
Teacher Progression	1	2	16
Regular home visits	2	2	16
Use of social services in school	1	6	14
Within-class ability grouping	8	14	13
Public relations and media activities	2	5	13
Pittsburgh School - Based Management	1	3	12
Schools Racial Achievement Gap Plan	0	11	11
Pilot teachers	a	a	9
Mediation center	0	4	9
Culture Club	4	6	9
Multicultural curriculum infusion	0	3	8
Multicultural course	0	2	8
Image Club	a	a	8
Multicultural co-curricular activities	1	3	6
Instructional Team Leaders	5	5	6
Parent or community member volunteers in classroom	1	5	5
Methods for heterogeneous instruction	0	5	5
Conflict management	1	4	4
Use of neighborhood community centers	0	2	3
Instructional teams	2	3	3
Special programs for involving parents	0	4	2
Speakers of different ethnic/cultural groups	0	2	2
Reading or math classes for parents	2	2	2
Peer tutors	1	2	2
Parenting skills training	0	3	2
Parent - Teacher Organization	2	2	2
Open house for students and parents	0	5	2
Flexible scheduling within team	2	2	2
Learning and teaching styles	1	4	0
Cooperative Learning	4	3	0
Instructional action plan, student achievement profile	1	6	b

[a] This item was not included in the 1991 or 1992 Teacher Questionnaire.
[b] This item was not included in the 1993 Teacher Questionnaire.

49% of staff had indicated that the Advisory Homeroom was a very useful program component, and only 2% viewed it as useless or harmful. By 1993 only 20% said the program was very useful (down, 29%), and 37% said the advisory period was either useless or harmful.

A part of this erosion in staff support for this initially popular innovation may be related to shifts in the manner this time has come to be used. The advisory periods initially had little formal structure, and teachers were expected to provide a warm environment in which students' concerns of the day or general early adolescent problems could be discussed. More structure was added as first multicultural and then social skills program material was written and provided to teachers, the principal required the monitoring of teacher activity during this period, and additional activity (including coaching students in anticipation of standardized testing) was added.

Many school staff developed a negative attitude about the multicultural program's evaluation over the years. About a fifth (20%) see our activity as very useful, but the percentage reporting that it is useless or harmful rose from 5% in 1991 to 31% in 1993. This shift in appraisal of the evaluation parallels shifts in the nature of the relation of the evaluation to program development.

Initially, our intent and that of program designers was to integrate evaluation into program development. Evaluation processes would then serve to assist in the clarification and translation of program theory into concrete standards of quality of program implementation. Program implementation would in turn be assessed and used as a tool to further program development. These activities were begun in the first year, but changes in in-school program leadership terminated this activity by the second year. As a result, all many staff knew of the evaluation were the periodic surveys and site visits they observed. The principal believed that the evaluation report issued at the end of the second year had hurt the program because of what he perceived as negative content.

The activities of the Multicultural Board of Visitors also came increasingly to be viewed in negative terms. Although the advice of this national committee of experts was never viewed as very useful by many staff, the percentage rating their advice as useless or harmful grew from 16% in 1991 to 34% in 1993.

Shifts in staff appraisals occurred for other program innovations as well. Some teachers saw flaws in the way a time-out room was used, leading a doubling in ratings of this activity as useless or harmful from 12% to 26%.

The percentage of staff who rated Human Relations Teachers as a very useful innovation fell from 26% to 11% between 1991 and 1993. By 1993, 25% of respondents reported that this role was either useless or harmful. Staff comments in response to open-ended questions in 1993 indicated that many were distressed that HRTs, who were regarded as top-notch personnel, were withdrawn from the school to support the district-wide development of multicultural education programs, and that the replacements were not uniformly committed to program ideals. HRTs and resource teachers involve the allocation of personnel to the school, and personnel cost money. As the district faced demands to reduce costs, the continued availability of these personnel resources to support the program was increasingly questionable, undoubtedly undermining confidence in the program.

The school's "Super Cabinet," introduced in the second year as a mechanism for making decisions and fostering communication about program development, was rated very useful by 18% of staff and harmful or useless by an equal percentage.

Cooperative learning is a program element that shows an interesting pattern of staff acceptance as the program evolved. Initially 41% of staff gave cooperative learning techniques a rating of very useful. At that time few faculty had much exposure to formal training in cooperative learning, and few faculty knew what programmatic implementation of these techniques in their classrooms would entail. As district mathematics specialists introduced some math teachers to Team-Assisted Instruction (TAI) and other cooperative learning methods, and as the program coordinator who had been exposed to some cooperative learning training in other roles began to develop and act on plans to provide training for teachers. However, two teachers from Prospect developed and delivered that training and staff became acquainted with what cooperative learning entails. Perhaps as faculty learned about the structure and discipline required to implement cooperative learning, some came to view it as a less useful innovation.

Yet the percentage of staff giving cooperative learning useless or harmful ratings did not grow as did the negative appraisals of many other components. It may be important to note that teacher compliance in implementing cooperative learning techniques was never required by the school. Indeed, the program coordinator during the 1991-92 school year who began the introduction of cooperative learning staunchly resisted the idea that there should be any implementation standards required at all for this program component. It seems reasonable to speculate that, because nothing was required of teachers, teachers did not develop negative attitudes about the component.[2]

A number of program elements enjoy high endorsement rates by staff as very useful and have relatively few detractors. This includes the open-house activity for parents, Instructional Team Leaders, the Image Club and Culture Club, learning and teaching styles, multicultural curriculum infusion, Parent-Teacher Organization, peer tutoring, mediation center, use of parent and community volunteers in the classroom, use of neighborhood centers for distributing report cards and meeting parents, conflict management, and a multicultural course. These program elements, which appear to be relatively robust in withstanding forces that generated negative appraisals of other program components, may suggest the type of innovation that it will be easiest to introduce and sustain in a middle school like Prospect.

Another kind of evidence implies an erosion of staff ownership of the program. In our 1991 survey three quarters of responding teachers said that — if they could develop their own multicultural program — it would be exactly like (16%) or similar to (60%) the current program. In the 1992 survey only three fifths said it would be exactly like (5%) or similar to (56%) the current program. By 1992, 40% of responding teachers say their own program would either be quite different or have no resemblance to the current program. In the most recent

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[2] See Chapter 9 for a discussion of program implementation.

1993 survey, fewer than half of respondents indicated that their own program would be exactly like (3%) or similar to (44%) the Prospect program. Now 53% say that their program would be quite different or not resemble Prospect's program at all. See Table 5.5.

Table 5.5. Two indicators of staff ownership and confidence in the Prospect Multicultural Education Program over time.

If I could create my own multicultural education program it would be quite different from the Prospect Program or not resemble the Prospect Program at all.

Year	Percent
1991	24%
1992	40%
1993	53%

Percentage of staff indicating that the Multicultural Education Program will "definitely" or "probably" succeed in achieving some of its goals.

Year	Percent
1991	68%
1992	49%
1993	47%

Similar evidence suggests an erosion in staff confidence that the multicultural program will achieve its goals. In our 1991 survey 68% of respondents said that they thought the program would "definitely" or "probably" succeed in achieving its goals and objectives within a three-to five-year period. In the 1992 survey this percentage had fallen to 49%, and it fell in the 1993 survey to 47%. See Table 5.5.

Parents

As noted in Chapter 4, parents generally endorse the school program, with 81% responding that the school has a sound academic program in our most recent assessment. Parents' perceptions of the school program differentiate between the educational program itself and school climate. The generally high ratings given to the academic program are mirrored in parents opinions that school staff want each child to succeed (84% agree), the school reaches out to involve parents (79% agree), and works to increase students' knowledge of all cultures (81% agree). But perceptions of other aspects of the school climate are less positive. Only 54% of parents agree that Black and White students get along at Prospect, and only 56% agree that the school is safe and orderly.

The percentages of parents agreeing and agreeing strongly with six statements about Prospect in 1991, 1992, and 1993 are displayed in Table 5.6. The overall pattern of parents' perceptions is similar each year. Although our sample of parents provides an imperfect mechanism for making inferences, the evidence converges in suggesting an erosion of confidence in the school — mostly between 1991 and 1992.

African-American parents (81%) were more likely to agree that White and Black students get along were European-American parents (44%). In the 1992 survey Black parents were about four times as likely as White parents to strongly agree that steps are being taken at Prospect to increase students' knowledge and awareness about all the cultures that make up America. By the 1993 survey the differences in perceptions of Black and White parents had narrowed, so that 92% of Black parents versus 78% of White parents agreed that Prospect was increasing students' knowledge and awareness of all cultures. The percentage of White parents who disagree fell from 39% in 1992 to 22% in 1993. Nevertheless some sentiment remains that attention is being given to Black-American culture at the expense of "White" culture.

> "The school tries to make parents think it is for all the students, but in fact it is mostly concerned for their black students."
>
> (White mother)

Table 5.6 Parents' opinions about Prospect: Percentage of parents agreeing with six statements about the school in 1991, 1992, and 1993.

Statement and year	% agreeing or agreeing strongly	% agreeing strongly	N
The school staff wants each child to succeed			
1991	93	35	109
1992	83	28	99
1993	84	24	95
Prospect Middle School has a sound academic program			
1991	85	19	108
1992	75	16	100
1993	81	14	93
Specific steps are being taken at Prospect to increase students' knowledge of and awareness about all the cultures that make up America			
1991	86	41	109
1992	74	24	99
1993	81	25	93
The school reaches out to involve parents			
1991	85	35	109
1992	79	20	100
1993	79	22	92
The school is safe and orderly			
1991	67	18	108
1992	48	8	100
1993	56	8	94
White and Black students get along in Prospect Middle School			
1991	64	13	108
1992	54	9	99
1993	54	10	91

By 1993, the disparaging comments about multicultural education *per se* mostly reflected a perception that the program was not genuinely multicultural but reflected African-American culture.

These negative sentiments were not unanimous:

> "It's a good idea — the concept of multicultural and multi-racial."
> (White father)

Participation in Program Development

A key aspect of the multicultural program was the deliberate effort to take a bottom-up approach to program development. In this, the program has been uncommonly successful. We asked staff how much responsibility for program development each of twenty different individuals or groups had. Everyone, from superintendent to maintenance worker, was credited with responsibility.

Not surprisingly, the Multicultural Program Director was the person judged to have exercised most responsibility (very much responsibility by 85% of respondents in 1991, 71% in 1992, and 70% in 1993), the Principal followed (79% very much in 1991, 66% in 1992, and 56% in 1993). The Human Relations Teachers, the School-Based Coordinator, the Deans, Instructional Team Leaders, the Superintendent, and District Curriculum Directors or Supervisors were all also regarded as having very much responsibility.

Students, parents, community members, and community organizations apparently had less responsibility or less visible responsibility for program development. Staff credited these groups with very much responsibility as follows: parents (32% in 1991, 27% in 1992, 26% in 1993), other community members (23% 1991, 13% 1992, 9% in 1993), Allegheny Conference on Community Development (14% 1991, 12% 1992, 10% in 1993).

One feature of staff ratings of responsibility is that every party listed was credited with less responsibility in the 1992 survey than in the earlier assessment, and this trend continued in 1993. It is possible that this shift reflects some decrease in perceived program ownership by many parties. Even the school-based multicultural program coordinator was credited with less responsibility for the program in 1993 than in 1991.

The data about program ownership reported in this chapter should be read together with the information about the increasing amount of conflict between teachers and the school administration that was summarized in Chapter 3. Conflict among groups that should be expected to form a single team working for common goals appears to be an important influence on the development of the multicultural program.

Summary

The evidence suggests that high levels of program ownership were initially achieved among the school's staff, and also among many parents and students. Some evidence suggests that student acceptance of the program may be increasing. Nevertheless, there have been specific areas in which obstacles to program ownership persist. The evidence implies, however, that the initially strong ownership in the program eroded over time.

- Most staff members endorse the aims of the program and regard most of what is being done or proposed as helpful. But the elimination of tracking is viewed as unhelpful or harmful by a large and increasing majority of staff members. Elimination of tracking and of the scholars' program could further erode support for the program unless accompanied by arrangements that make heterogeneous grouping for instruction more acceptable to staff.

- The majority of Black parents endorse the program, but endorsement rates are not as high among White parents. Some White parents strongly believe that there is not enough balance in the multicultural program.

- White parents' perceptions of the multicultural program are often very negative.

- Despite remarkable success in involving school staff and students in program development, the level of responsibility that parents and the community have had in program development appears low in view of the program's intended emphasis on parent and community involvement. There is a general decline in the perceived responsibility of all parties for program development.

- Staff are uncertain that the program will be successful in achieving its goals and objectives, and they are increasingly pessimistic about the chances that the program will be successful.
- The high degree of conflict or tension between the school's administration and the faculty has probably undermined support for the program.

Uncertain support for the Prospect multicultural program from parents and community — European-American parents in particular — may lead to the failure of the program. The evidence summarized in Chapters 3 through 5 implies that parental support has eroded. If the community fears and concerns are not addressed, the program may become too unpopular and divisive to continue in its present form.

The erosion in staff morale and enthusiasm for implementing the program's components is a second threat to the success of the program. Causes of the increased pessimism appear to lie in district leadership, resources, school leadership, and changes and reductions in staff. Unless the increasing tide of negative sentiment is reversed, it is unlikely that the program at Prospect can be judged a success.

Chapter 6. Psychosocial Development

The developmental tasks that young adolescents face can be daunting ones for middle school students. Questions of identity are especially important. Achieving a healthy racial identity, for example, is crucial even when stereotypes and overt prejudice prevail. Forming friendships, achieving academically, and developing respect for rules and norms in the school are tasks that can be equally challenging, especially in schools with ethnically diverse populations.[1]

We examined student responses to the Effective School Battery (ESB, administered in December 1990 and January 1992) and a student survey devised for this evaluation (administered in the Spring of 1991, 1992, and 1993). The findings continue to show a profile of coping that contains both encouraging and disturbing elements. Commonly, age and gender differences are also observed.

Student Characteristics

Prospect aims to foster students' feelings of connectedness to the school, positive self-concepts, respect for conventional social rules, and behavior conducive to learning. Student responses to the ESB provide information on these aspects of psychosocial development. One cluster of questions asks students about the extent to which they feel integrated in the social fabric of the school (e.g., I feel like I belong in this school).

In Table 6.1, we show the combined results for December 1990 and January 1992 (scores did not differ significantly by year). The average student in all groups feels a sense of connectedness rather than alienation. But the average

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[1] M. L. Clark (1990). Friendship and peer relations in Black adolescents. In R. L. Jones (Ed.). *Black Adolescents* (pp. 175-204). Berkeley, CA: Cobb & Henry. E. J. Smith. (1991). Ethnic identity development: Toward the development of a theory within the context of majority/minority status. *Journal of Counseling and Development*. *70*, 181-187. V. B. VanHassert and M. Hersen. (1987). *Handbook of Adolescent Psychology*. New York: Pergamon.

White student feels more connected than the average Black student; and students feel less connected in the higher than lower grade levels.

Table 6.1. Social Integration scores for subgroups of students in Prospect Middle School.

Group	Mean	SD	N
All students	.64	.26	754
6th graders	.69	.24	237
7th graders	.64	.27	232
8th graders	.61	.26	276
African-American students	.62	.25	351
European-American students	.68	.27	343

Note. High scorers say, for example, "I feel like I belong in this school." Low scores indicate alienation. Grade levels and race/ethnic groups differ significantly. This table combines data from the December 1990 and January 1992 assessments; scores did not differ significantly by year. The mean scores for subgroups have a margin of error (95% confidence interval) of about plus or minus .03.

Likewise, there was little change across years in student self reports of involvement in various kinds of misconduct: The average student in all groups reports good behavior. But the average boy reports more misconduct than the average girl; 6th graders report less misconduct than the 7th graders and the 7th graders less than the 8th graders; and Black boys report more misconduct on average than other groups. (See Table 6.2.) The age and sex differences resemble differences observed in other schools.

Table 6.2. Self-reported Rebellious Behavior for subgroups of students in Prospect Middle School.

Group	Mean	SD	N
All students	1.01	.78	795
6th graders	.84	.77	254
7th graders	.96	.72	245
8th graders	1.14	.77	287
African-American students	1.05	.77	371
European-American students	.86	.74	353
Boys	.88	.76	418
Girls	1.14	.77	377
African-American girls	.94	.69	204
African-American boys	1.30	.82	167
European-American girls	.74	.77	177
European-American boys	.98	.68	176

Note. High scorers say, for example, that they try to hurt other people, make disruptive noises, or fight or argue with others. Low scores indicate good behavior in school. Grade levels, sexes, and race/ethnic groups differ significantly. This table combines data from the December 1990 and January 1992 assessments; scores did not differ significantly by year. The mean scores for subgroups have a margin of error (95% confidence interval) of about plus or minus .1.

No significant changes were evident in self-concept scores associated with year and race/ethnicity. The self-concept of the average student at Prospect is in the moderate range of scores for students in similar schools. White and Black students rated their self-concept similarly.

Racial/Ethnic Identity

Achieving a positive sense of one's own racial identity is a major developmental milestone. To learn how students feel about their racial/ethnic identity, we asked them to indicate the extent to which they agreed with the statement: "I have a great deal of respect for other students of my own racial/ethnic group." Students of all groups overwhelmingly agreed with the statement in each of the three years (See Table 6.3.); the small differences seen in this table are not significant.

Table 6.3. I have a great deal of respect for other students of my own ethnic/racial group: Percentage of students who agreed in 1991, 1992, and 1993.

	Percentage who agreed			N		
Group	1991	1992	1993	1991	1992	1993
All students	81	82	84	397	363	358
Black students	78	85	86	187	193	171
White students	85	81	83	174	150	163
Girls	79	83	88	216	201	178
Boys	83	81	81	194	160	178
6th graders	86	79	85	121	139	148
7th graders	78	84	86	136	100	121
8th graders	79	84	81	144	124	89
Black girls	74	84	91	94	109	81
White girls	86	84	85	99	81	81
Black boys	82	87	82	92	82	89
White boys	84	78	82	77	69	81

Note. The small differences seen in this table are not statistically significant.

Students of both race/ethnic groups were less likely in 1992 and 1993 than 1991 to report that members of their own group hassled each other (see Table 6.4), although Black students remained more likely than White students to report this. White girls were significantly less likely than Black girls or Black boys to agree that members of their own group hassled each other.

Table 6.4. Students of my own racial/ethnic group often hassle each other: Percentage of students who agreed in 1991, 1992, and 1993.

	Percentage who agreed			N		
Group	1991	1992	1993	1991	1992	1993
All students	60	53	58	395	363	351
Black students	70	61	66	183	194	165
White students	52	42	48	173	147	162
Girls	63	52	55	202	197	175
Boys	57	55	61	192	164	174
6th graders	61	48	58	121	138	146
7th graders	63	55	56	131	98	117
8th graders	57	58	61	143	127	88
Black girls	66	64	68	92	108	80
White girls	60	37	39	98	78	80
Black boys	74	58	64	90	84	84
White boys	43	48	57	77	69	81

There was a racial gap between Black and White students' on reports of agreement with the statement, "Many students of my ethnic/racial group are often worried that they will be hurt or bothered by other members of my group." In 1991, 51% of the Black students, but only 31% of the White students, were worried that they will be hurt or bothered by other members of their group. In 1992, only 43% of the Black, but 41% of the White students agreed (Table 6.5). By 1993, 48% of the Blacks, but only 37% of the White students, agreed with the statement. Differences among grades were significant, with 6th graders being more likely to report being worried. Compared to Black girls and boys, White girls were less likely to agree that they would be hurt by others of their group.

In each of the three years, more Black students than White students agreed that "Many students of my ethnic/racial group can be expected to embarrass others" (Table 6.6). Changes over time were not significant.

Table 6.5. Students of my own racial/ethnic group are often worried that they will be hurt or bothered by other members of my group: Percentage of students who agreed in 1991, 1992, and 1993.

	Percentage who agreed			N		
Group	1991	1992	1993	1991	1992	1993
All students	42	42	43	391	350	351
Black students	51	43	48	185	190	167
White students	31	41	37	171	140	163
Girls	41	39	45	199	189	173
Boys	43	46	42	194	159	176
6th graders	43	46	49	118	129	146
7th graders	48	35	42	134	99	118
8th graders	36	43	34	142	122	87
Black girls	54	43	53	92	105	78
White girls	28	32	35	96	75	82
Black boys	49	43	44	92	83	88
White boys	35	51	39	77	65	80

Table 6.6. Many students of my ethnic/racial group can be expected to embarrass other: Percentage of students who agreed in 1991, 1992, and 1993.

	Percentage who agreed			N		
Group	1991	1992	1993	1991	1992	1993
All students	51	55	53	392	358	346
Black students	58	57	56	184	190	163
White students	42	51	48	171	147	160
Girls	52	51	54	200	193	171
Boys	50	59	51	191	163	173
6th graders	52	54	53	117	134	141
7th graders	54	50	50	133	100	117
8th graders	47	59	56	142	124	88
Black girls	56	54	62	92	105	77
White girls	43	46	48	97	78	79
Black boys	59	60	51	91	83	85
White boys	41	56	48	75	69	80

Note. Although an overall test for differences in this table is not significant, the race difference is significant when examined by itself.

Finally, in 1991 slightly less than half (48%) of the students agreed that members of their own racial or ethnic group treat each other with respect; in 1992, the percentage was 56%, but in 1993 the percentage had dropped to 47 (Table 6.7) The difference associated with race is significant: White students were more likely than Black students to agree that members of their own group treated them with respect.

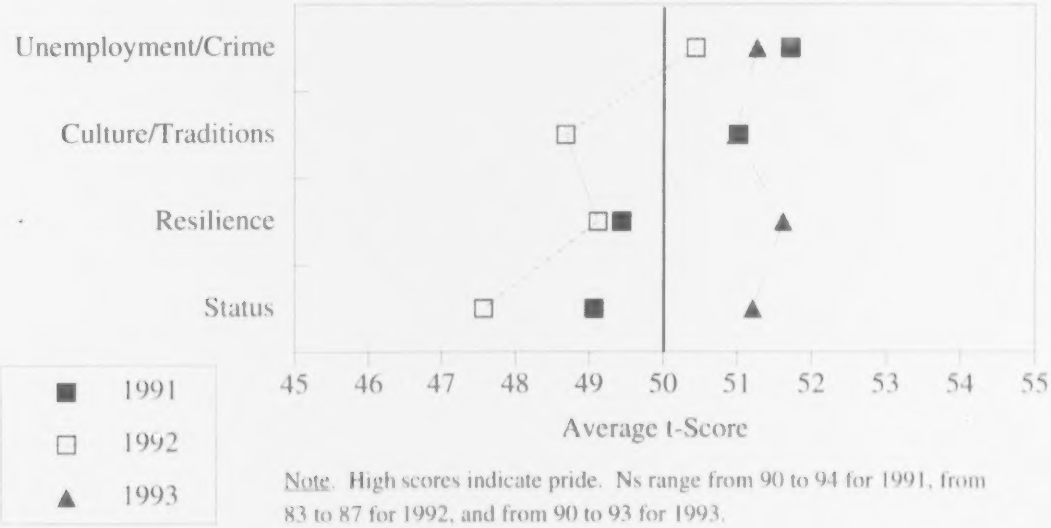
Table 6.7. Members of my racial or ethnic group in this school treat each other with respect: Percentage of students who agreed in 1991, 1992, and 1993.

	Percentage who agreed			N		
Group	1991	1992	1993	1991	1992	1993
All students	48	56	47	398	353	349
Black students	46	52	40	187	192	167
White students	52	63	56	180	140	159
Girls	46	56	47	201	196	174
Boys	50	56	47	196	155	173
6th graders	50	58	54	120	132	147
7th graders	49	52	41	137	99	116
8th graders	46	57	43	141	122	86
Black girls	39	49	40	92	108	79
White girls	54	69	54	97	77	81
Black boys	52	56	40	94	82	87
White boys	49	56	57	83	64	77

Note. The differences associated with year and with race are significant. However, inspection of the means for years indicated that no two years are significantly different at the .05 level.

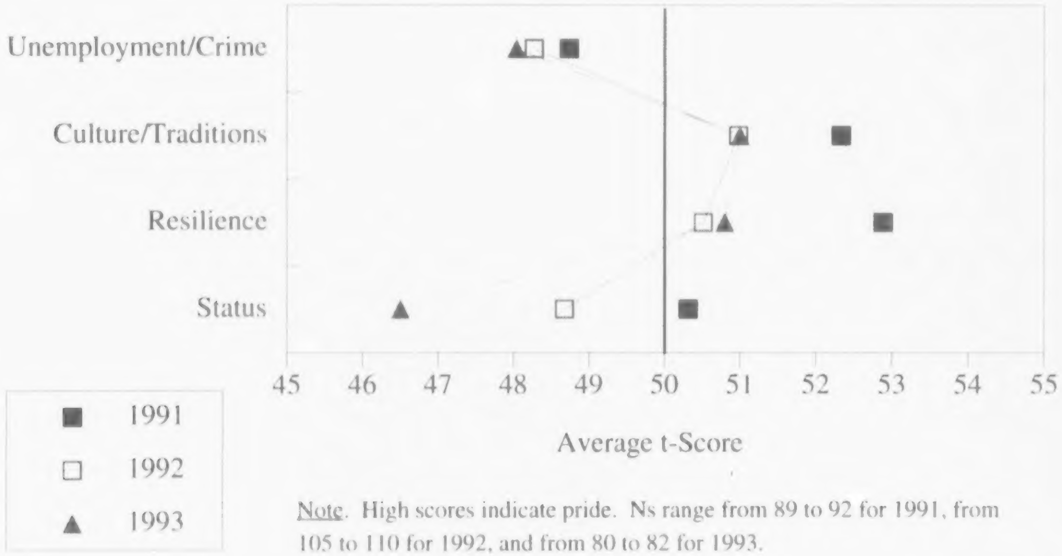
Pride in the accomplishments and traditions of their own racial and ethnic groups is often assumed to provide students with a sense of history and a basis for defining future possibilities. (See Chapter 1.) In 1991, all groups of students at Prospect tended to report pride in response to questions about cultural traditions. A downward shift in 1992 was evident in all groups in reported pride about cultural traditions and on other item clusters. (See Figures 6.1 to 6.4.) By 1993, among African-American boys, the shift apparent in 1992 had reversed, and these boys reported greater pride in all item clusters, except unemployment/crime, than they did in 1991 and 1992. Boys were less ashamed than girls of drunkenness, unemployment, and crime among members of their ethnic/racial groups.

Figure 6.1. How Black male students feel about their own ethnic group: Four opinion clusters.



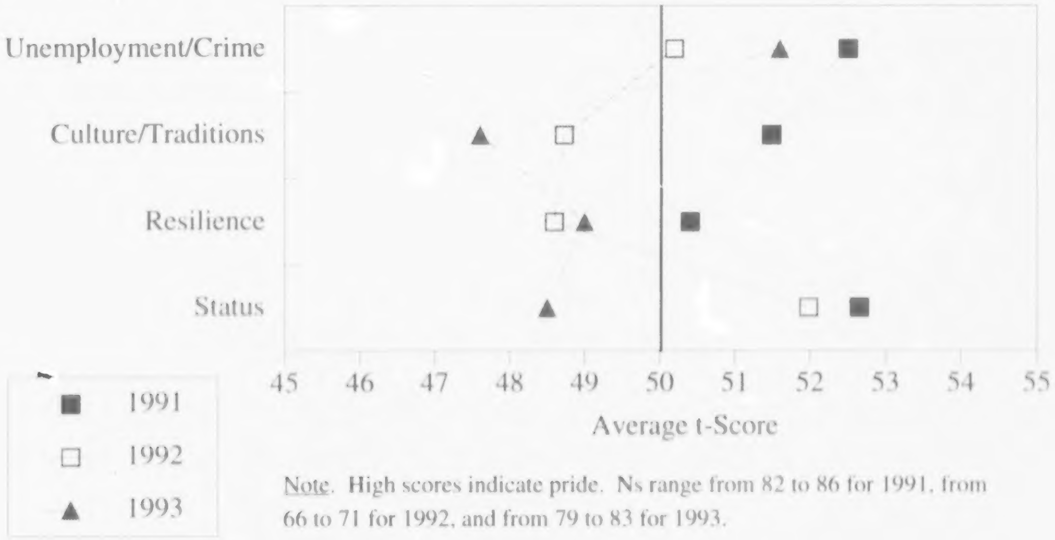
Note. High scores indicate pride. Ns range from 90 to 94 for 1991, from 83 to 87 for 1992, and from 90 to 93 for 1993.

Figure 6.2. How Black female students feel about their own ethnic group: Four opinion clusters.



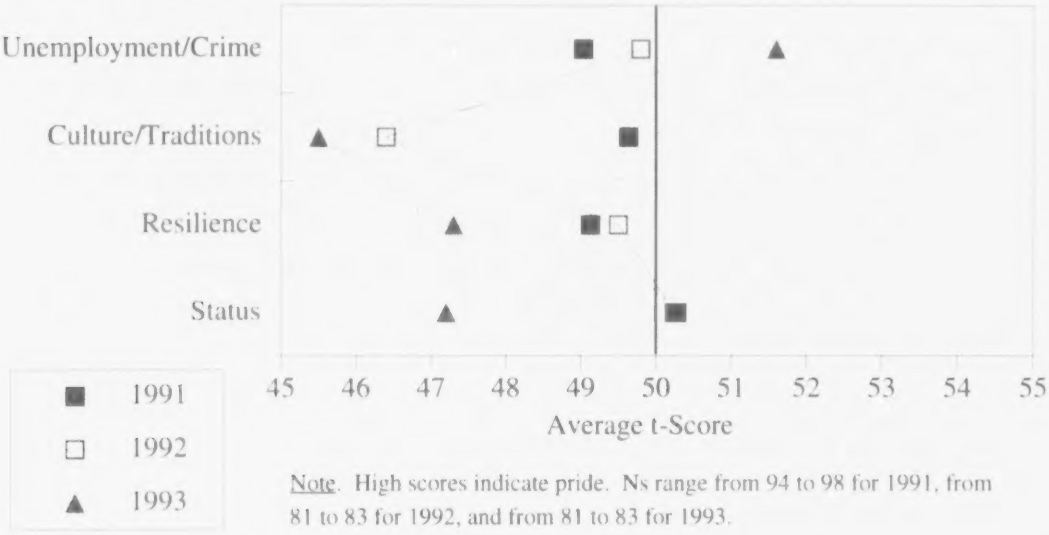
Note. High scores indicate pride. Ns range from 89 to 92 for 1991, from 105 to 110 for 1992, and from 80 to 82 for 1993.

Figure 6.3. How White male students feel about their own ethnic group: Four opinion clusters.



Note. High scores indicate pride. Ns range from 82 to 86 for 1991, from 66 to 71 for 1992, and from 79 to 83 for 1993.

Figure 6.4. How White female students feel about their own ethnic group: Four opinion clusters.



Note. High scores indicate pride. Ns range from 94 to 98 for 1991, from 81 to 83 for 1992, and from 81 to 83 for 1993.

Summary

Black and White students at Prospect report that they feel connected to the school, think positively about themselves and members of their own racial group, and respect conventional social rules. However, there is evidence of negative intragroup relations:

- Substantial proportions of students agreed that members of their own race treated each other disrespectfully, especially African-American students.

- Although there were decreases among all groups in all years, substantial proportions of students agreed that members of their own race hassled them.

- High proportions of Black students reported in all years that they were worried about members of their own race hurting or bothering them. Substantial proportions of White students also responded to this item but not to the extent that African Americans did.

- In contrast, students in all years (despite declines in 1992) felt pride in their group's cultural achievements. Among boys, this picture is somewhat disturbing in that they took disproportionate pride in social problems such as drunkenness, unemployment, and crime.

- Taken together, the evidence suggests emphasis on contemporary interpersonal relations continues to be a priority.

Chapter 7. Students' Career and Educational Aspirations

Along with grades and academic achievement, career and educational aspirations are important determinants of later educational and career outcomes.[1] Enhancing the level of educational and career aspirations of all Prospect students by the time they reach late adolescence is a fifth challenge for the multicultural program.

When Prospect's students were asked to name the occupation they expected to be pursuing when they are 35 years of age, large proportions listed one of a very small number of occupations — physician, lawyer, and athlete being the most common. In the student survey conducted in 1991, 45 percent of students listed one of these three occupations. A quarter of European-American boys and almost a third of African-American boys expressed the unlikely expectation that they would be employed as athletes at age 35. Table 7.1 shows the most commonly listed occupations in our surveys; the results of all three surveys show a similar pattern of largely unrealistic career aspirations.

The evidence implies that many, perhaps most, Prospect students have not begun to think systematically and realistically about their careers.

Most Prospect students say they expect to complete a college degree (Table 7.2). Proportionately more girls (75%) than boys (60%) expect to do so.

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[1] W. Sewell, A. Haller, & A. Portes (1969). The educational and early occupational attainment process. *American Sociological Review, 34*, 82-93. D. C. Gottfredson (1981). Black-white differences in the educational attainment process: What have we learned? *American Sociological Review, 46*, 542-557. J. Laing, K. Swaney, & D. J. Prediger (1984). Integrating vocational interest inventory results and expressed choices. *Journal of Vocational Behavior, 25*, 304-315.

Table 7.1. Most common occupational aspirations of Prospect students.

	1991		1992		1993	
Student Group	Occupations	Percentage	Occupations	Percentage	Occupations	Percentage
All students	Physician	16	Physician	13	Lawyer	15
(1991 N = 352)	Lawyer	15	Lawyer	13	Physician	15
(1992 N = 318)	Athlete	14	Athlete	10	Athlete	14
(1993 N = 285)	Teacher	6	Teacher	6	Teacher	9
					Nurse	6
Black females	Physician	31	Lawyer	24	Physician	20
(1991 N = 95)	Lawyer	21	Physician	24	Nurse	20
(1992 N = 100)	Teacher	11	Teacher	7	Lawyer	19
(1993 N = 73)	Nurse	6	Nurse	5	Teacher	14
					Cosmetologist	6
White females	Lawyer	24	Lawyer	18	Teacher	19
(1991 N = 100)	Physician	18	Physician	14	Lawyer	16
(1992 N = 76)	Nurse	9	Teacher	12	Physician	12
(1993 N = 69)			Do not know	8		
			Nurse	7		
			Veterinarian	6		
Black males	Athlete	32	Athlete	25	Athlete	36
(1991 N = 96)	Physician	10	Lawyer	5	Physician	13
(1992 N = 66)	Proprietor	7	Physician	5	Engineer	8
(1993 N = 61)	Architect	5			Lawyer	8
	Police Officer	5			Police Officer	7
White males	Athlete	25	Athlete	19	Athlete	25
(1991 N = 88)	Lawyer	10	Do not know	7	Lawyer	17
(1992 N = 58)	Physician	8	Physician	5	Physician	12
(1993 N = 59)	Carpenter	8	Police Officer	5	Police Officer	8
					Architect	5

Note. Aspirations expressed by 5 percent or more students are included in the table.

No evidence in Tables 7.1 or 7.2 implies that the program has affected the career or educational aspirations of Prospect students. Minor differences across years are not significant.

Table 7.2. Percentage of students expecting to complete a college degree, 1991, 1992, and 1993.

	Percentage			N		
Group	1991	1992	1993	1991	1992	1993
All students	65	66	68	412	398	372
Black students	68	67	65	192	210	178
White students	65	64	69	188	159	168
Girls	71	70	75	208	214	183
Boys	60	60	60	203	182	187
6th graders	71	69	73	123	151	152
7th graders	64	66	60	141	107	124
8th graders	62	62	69	148	140	96
Black girls	73	65	73	95	114	82
White girls	70	74	74	100	85	84
Black boys	64	68	57	96	94	95
White boys	59	53	65	88	74	83

Note. We did not check significance levels for the race/sex breakdown.

Students who like school have a higher probability of completing more of it than do students who dislike school.[2] Accordingly, student attachment to school is an important indicator. Patterns in a multi-question indicator of attachment[3] to school resemble those for educational expectations. Girls are more attached to school than are boys, and sixth graders are much more attached than students in the higher grades. (See Table 7.3.) We found no significant change in attachment to school between 1991 and 1992.

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[2] J. G. Bachman, P. M. O'Malley, & J. Johnston (1978). *Youth in transition (Vol. VI)*. Ann Arbor, MI: Institute for Social Research.

[3] These results are from surveys conducted in 1990 and 1992 using the Effective School Battery (G. D. Gottfredson (1984). *Effective School Battery User's Manual*. Odessa, FL: Psychological Assessment Resources.

Table 7.3. Attachment to School for subgroups of students in Prospect Middle School.

Group	Mean	SD	N
All students	.66	.26	807
6th graders	.76	.22	262
7th graders	.65	.24	247
8th graders	.59	.27	287
Boys	.64	.25	383
Girls	.68	.26	423

Note. High scorers say, for example, that they like school and that it is important what the teacher thinks about them. Low scorers dislike school. Grade levels and sexes differ significantly. This table combines data from the December 1990 and January 1992 assessments; scores did not differ significantly by year or race/ethnicity. The mean scores for subgroups have a margin of error (95% confidence interval) of about plus or minus .02 or .03.

Peer Influence

On the basis of observations made in secondary schools, anthropologist John Ogbu recently suggested that some students may not work as hard at school tasks as they otherwise might because they expect to be ridiculed by other students.[4] More specifically, a school culture may exist in which Black students are accused of "acting White" by other Black students if they invest in academic tasks or perform well in school.

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[4] S. Fordham, & J. U. Ogbu (1986). Black students' social success: Coping with the "burden of acting white." *Urban Review, 18*, 176-206.

To learn whether such a peer influence process may operate at Prospect, students were asked about their own experiences. As Table 7.4 shows, boys were significantly more likely than girls to report not doing as well as they could in order to fit in with their peers. Black boys were especially likely to report such influence (although neither the race-by-sex interaction nor the difference associated with race was statistically significant).

Table 7.4. Sometimes I don't do as well at school as I could so that I will fit in better with my friends: Percent answering "true" in 1991, 1992, and 1993.

	Percentage "true"			N		
Group	1991	1992	1993	1991	1992	1993
All students	31	28	23	392	335	355
Black girls	22	25	22	90	96	80
White girls	22	21	13	98	71	84
Black boys	45	44	30	91	79	88
White boys	33	23	28	81	70	78

Note. The difference between 1991 and 1992 is statistically significant, as is the difference associated with sex. (There is no significant statistical interaction.)

In the 1991 assessment, 22% of Black girls and 22% of White girls said they were influenced by peers to do less than their best; 33% of White boys and 44% of Black boys said they did less well than they could in order to fit in with their friends. There is a statistically significant shift over time, with students less often reporting that they avoid doing well to fit in with friends in the more recent assessment.

A similar pattern of results emerged when students were asked if others of their own ethnic group would make fun of them if they did too well at school (Table 7.5). In the 1991 results, a quarter (25%) of White girls but more than two-fifths (42%) of Black boys said they expected derision. The results were somewhat more favorable for White students and for girls. There was significant improvement over the years: By 1993 only 22% of students indicated that they expected to be derided if they did too well at school work. By 1993 the percentage of Black boys who expected derision had fallen almost to the initial levels expected by White girls.

Table 7.5. Students of my ethnic group would make fun of me if I did too well at school work: Percent answering "true" 1991, 1992, and 1993.

	Percentage "true"			N		
Group	1991	1992	1993	1991	1992	1993
All students	33	25	22	396	335	351
Black girls	29	23	28	92	97	80
White girls	25	11	13	99	73	82
Black boys	42	42	28	93	78	86
White boys	35	23	22	81	70	79

Note. The difference between 1991 and 1992 is statistically significant, as is the difference associated with race and the difference associated with sex. (There is no significant statistical interaction.)

Peer culture may be one influence that maintains between-group differences in educational outcomes and the poor performance of Black male students in particular. We explored the hypothesis that beliefs in opposition to the dominant culture's definitions of educational success explain some of the differences in school performance observed between African-American and European-

American students using data for a sample of 185 students collected as part of this evaluation.[5] A measure of academic opposition, constructed to operationalize concepts proposed by Fordham and Ogbu (1986), was moderately reliable and could be measured distinctly from rebellious behavior, belief in conventional rules, and commitment to education. This academic opposition scale had no incremental validity in predicting school grades, however, once demographic characteristics and prior achievement were statistically controlled.

Two potentially manipulable student characteristics did explain variance in school performance: (a) a measure of commitment to education involving reports of school effort and (b) school attendance. This suggests that efforts to improve the relative performance of African-American students might usefully focus on attendance and commitment to school work.

Information on group differences in the investments in scholastic achievement may be derived from an analysis of scores on the Effective School Battery's School Effort scale (administered in December 1990 and January 1992). Results summarized in Table 7.6 imply that boys show less regard than do girls for the neat and timely completion of school work, but the average effort scores for Black and White boys are similar. There was no statistically significant difference in Effort scores for the two assessments a year apart.

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[5] This research is described more fully in the Appendix.

Table 7.6. Self-reported School Effort for subgroups of students in Prospect Middle School.

Group	Mean	SD	N
All students	.59	.29	433
6th graders	.67	.27	277
7th graders	.57	.28	263
8th graders	.54	.30	295
Boys	.54	.29	412
Girls	.64	.28	433
African-American students	.58	.27	404
European-American students	.60	.31	367
African-American girls	.62	.27	215
African-American boys	.53	.27	189
European-American girls	.67	.28	178
European-American boys	.54	.31	189

Note. High scorers say, for example, that they work hard in school. Low scorers say that they don't bother with homework or class assignments. Grade levels, sexes, and race/ethnic groups differ significantly. This table combines data from the December 1990 and January 1992 assessments; scores did not differ significantly by year. The mean scores for small subgroups have a margin of error (95% confidence interval) of about plus or minus .04.

Summary

The evidence suggests that many — perhaps most — Prospect students are not seriously oriented towards working careers and that limited effort at school work and school nonattendance may be thwarting career and educational development.

- Many students aspire to a small number of occupations that employ only a small fraction of Americans and which are very difficult to enter.

- Boys' educational aspirations are lower than girls' aspirations, and students in the higher grades have lower aspirations than those in lower grades.

- Relatively few Prospect students aspire to occupations in science (aside from medicine), engineering, entrepreneurial activity, or skilled trades.

- If peer culture operates to limit the educational effort or performance of boys — and African-American boys in particular — then changes over time in peer influence are encouraging. The evidence suggests that fewer students now expect derision from their peers for good school performance.

- The evidence implies that boys expend less effort on school work than girls, and that younger students work harder than those in higher grades. Because differences in commitment to school and attendance predict school performance, improvements in attendance and investment in school work may be beneficial.

There appears to be potential for the further development of the program in ways that have salutary influences on how students think about their career and educational possibilities. Focusing explicitly on peer influence, peer expectations, and peer behavior remains a promising avenue to improve educational outcomes for boys, and for African-American boys in particular.

Chapter 8. Academic Achievement

Raising academic achievement and promoting greater equity in achievement are aims of the Multicultural Education Program. The Board of Visitors in its First-Year Exit Report wrote, "The single most important indicator of success of this multicultural initiative will be an acceptable and equitable level of achievement among all students."

Goals

At the inception of the multicultural initiative, Pittsburgh Public Schools established an ambitious objective for Prospect: By 1992 the scores on the California Achievement Tests would rise appreciably, and the gap between the achievement levels of African-American and European-American students would decline.

More specifically, the percentage of all students reading at or above the national median was to rise from 37% in 1988 to 61% by 1992, in language the percentage above the median was to rise from 50% to 67%, and in mathematics the percentage was to rise from 44% to 65% of students scoring above the national median.

Moreover, the gap in the achievement scores of Black and White students was to narrow. For example, whereas 30% more White than Black students scored above the national median in reading in 1988, the goal was for this difference to narrow to 13% by 1992. The 1988 baseline achievement and the goals to be achieved by 1992 are detailed in Table 8.1.

Table 8.1. California Achievement Test results — 1988 base, the goal, and 1991, 1992, and 1993 actual.

	1988 Base	1991 Actual	1992 Actual	1993 Actual	1992 Goal
Reading					
% at or above national median	37	40	29	35	61
% in bottom quarter	28	28	34	24	15
% in top quarter	11	11	6	14	25
Achievement gap between black and white students					
a. Difference in % above national median	30	31	25	36	13
b. Difference in % in national top quarter	12	13	8	17	6
Mathematics					
% at or above national median	44	40	39	35	65
% in bottom quarter	19	31	30	34	7
% in top quarter	15	17	16	16	30
Achievement gap between black and white students					
a. Difference in % above national median	35	25	30	31	15
b. Difference in % in national top quarter	18	19	19	26	7

California Achievement Test Results

Target levels were not reached for any of the progress indicators, although scores for four measures improved from the 1988 base to the 1993 test administration: The percentage of students scoring in the bottom quarter of the reading test fell from 28% to 24%; the percentage scoring in the top quarter of reading rose from 11% to 14%; the percentage scoring in the top quarter of mathematics increased from 15% to 16%; and the difference in the achievement gap on the mathematics test between Black students and White students who scored at or above the national median declined from 35% to 31%.

In all other categories, levels either stayed the same or eroded. Two categories with marked declines were the drop from 44% in 1988 to 35% in 1993 in the percentage of students scoring at or above the national median in mathematics

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and the increase in the percentage of children scoring in the bottom quarter of the mathematics test from the 1988 base of 19% to the 1933 result of 34%.

Although progress objectives had initially also been set for the language portion of the CAT, the Pittsburgh Public Schools stopped the administration of this subtest after 1991. Therefore, only 1988 and 1991 test results and final target levels for this subtest are shown in Table 8.2. Even though it is not possible to know how students might have scored in 1992 or 1993, by 1991 the percentage of students scoring at or above the 75th percentile in language had risen from 25% to 32%.

Table 8.2. California Achievement Test language results — 1988 base, the goal, and 1991 actual.

	1988 Base	1991 Actual	1992 Goal
% At or Above National Median	50	54	67
% In Top Quarter	25	32	37
% in Bottom Quarter	16	19	7
Achievement gap between black and white students			
a. Difference in % above national median	24	28	8
b. Difference in % in national top quarter	22	21	4

Average CAT Percentile Scores

Charting the percentage of students who score above or below a specified percentile is just one way to look at achievement levels. It is also instructive to examine the percentile for average student scores. Figure 8.1 illustrates the persistent gap between the percentile rankings of average African-American and European-American students in the reading and mathematics tests for all three

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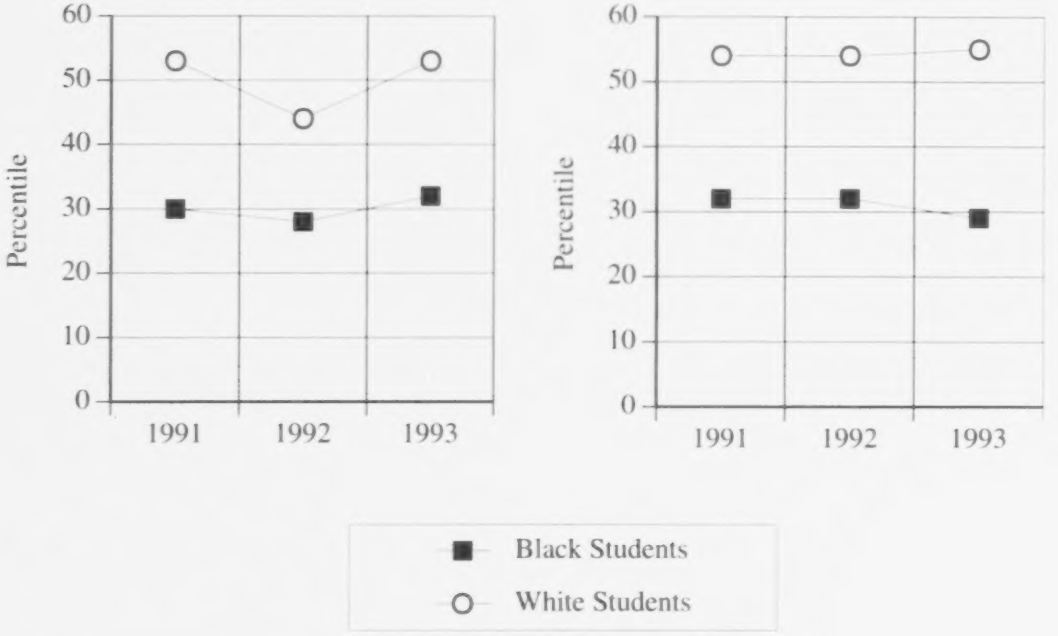
years.[1] There is no indication of a narrowing gap when the data are organized in this manner.

Figure 8.1. Percentile scores on the California Achievement Test for 1991, 1992, and 1993, by race.



Organizing the achievement test results by race and sex also reveals a consistent pattern of differential achievement. As is evident from Figure 8.2, for both reading and math, mean scores are ordered from lowest to highest as follows: black males, black females, white males, and white females.

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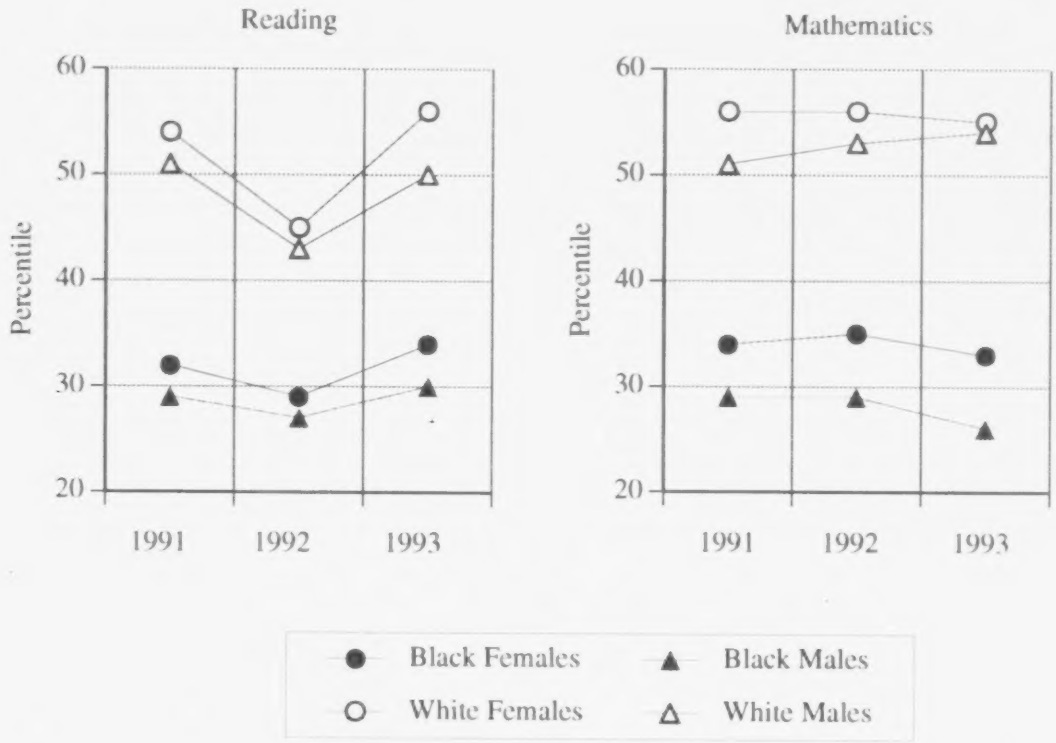
[1] Technical note: These means are approximated by translating individual student percentile rankings to deviation scores in an assumed normal distribution, averaging, and transforming the mean normal deviate back to a percentile rank.

Figure 8.2. Mean California Achievement Test results by sex and race and year.



Prospect as Compared with the District

The California Achievement Tests in mathematics and reading were given to all middle school students in the Pittsburgh Public Schools in 1991, 1992, and 1993. Table 8.3[2] shows the percentage of African-American and European-American students scoring at or above the national norm in these years for each of the two tests for all Pittsburgh public middle schools and for the Prospect Multicultural Center. Also shown in the table is the difference between the District and the Prospect results. For each year the percentage of both Black and

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[2] Results show in Table 8.3 are from *Results of norm-referenced tests in reading, mathematics, and writing—School year 1992-93*. Pittsburgh: Evaluation and Research Initiative, Unit of School Support Services. We assume that small differences in data file composition or computational methods account for the slight differences in Unit of School Support Services results and ours.

White students at Prospect scoring at or above the median on each test was lower than the percentage District-wide, and the gap did not decrease over years.

Table 8.3. Percentage at or above the national median on the California Achievement Test: comparison of the Pittsburgh School District middle schools to Prospect Middle School, 1991, 1992, and 1993.

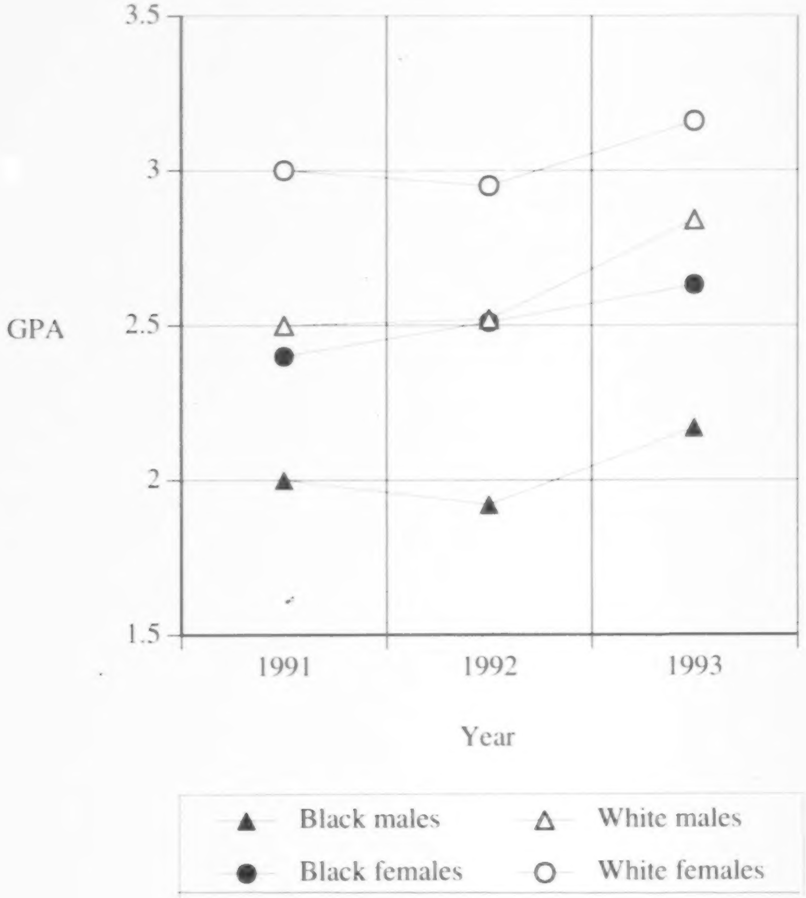
Group and Test	District Middle Schools	Prospect Multicultural Center	Gap between District and Prospect
Reading			
1991			
African-American students	38	24	14
European-American students	66	56	10
1992			
African-American students	29	18	11
European-American students	61	43	18
1993			
African-American students	34	21	13
European-American students	66	55	11
Mathematics			
1991			
African-American students	38	27	11
European-American students	63	52	11
1992			
African-American students	29	25	4
European-American students	66	56	10
1993			
African-American students	30	22	8
European-American students	63	51	12

Final Grades

California Achievement Test results are but one measure of student achievement. Final grades are an alternative measure of performance. The average final grade point average (based on a scale of A = 4.0, B = 3.0, C = 2.0, D = 1.0, and E = 0.0) shows the same pattern of achievement as was seen in the

CAT results, with African-American males ranking lowest and European-American females ranking highest. The average Black male earned on average one grade point below the average White female in each year. (See Figure 8.3.)

Figure 8.3. Mean grade point average by race and sex and year.



Summary

Perceptions of the school and acceptance of the multicultural ideal may hinge on concrete evidence of gains in the academic performance of all groups of students.

A pattern of improved achievement for all students is not demonstrated in the California Achievement Test data, and the evidence discloses the persistence of a large achievement gap between African-American and European-American students. The patterns seen in the formal testing program data are paralleled in the data on grades earned. On virtually every achievement indicator, Black males rank at the bottom on average and White females rank on average at the top.

SECTION III.

IMPLEMENTATION AND PROSPECTS FOR DISSEMINATION

In this section we provide information on program implementation and discuss some considerations for further development and dissemination.

Chapter 9. Implementation of the Prospect Program

The idea that groups with diverse origins and varied personal characteristics, needs, and values should be able to coexist — and that society will benefit from the participation of all these groups — is widely but by no means universally endorsed. The Prospect Demonstration Program is intended to produce greater endorsement of this multicultural ideal.

In this chapter, we describe the extent to which the program elements which the Prospect Program was to demonstrate were put in place. It is a common observation that many new educational programs never really happen — they are "non-events" in Sarason's[1] words. More generally, the implementation of new programs in schools varies along a continuum from nothing happened to extensive and lasting change.[2]

1. A recent examination of reviews[3] and primary literature summarized the evidence about classroom and school influences on program implementation as follows:[4]

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[1] S. B. Sarason (1971). *The culture of the school and the problem of change.* Boston: Allyn & Bacon.

[2] (a) P. Berman, & M. W. McLaughlin (1978). *Federal programs supporting educational change, Vol. VIII: Implementing and sustaining innovations* (R-1589/8-HEW). Santa Monica, CA: Rand. (b) A. Liberman & L. Miller (1981). Synthesis of research on improving schools. *Educational Leadership, 39*, 583-586. (c) M. W. McLaughlin (1990). The Rand change agent study revisited: Macro perspectives and micro realities. *Educational Researcher, 19*, 11-16.

[3] (a) D. L. Clark, L. S. Lotto, & M. M. McCarthy (1980). Factors associated with success in urban elementary schools. *Phi Delta Kappan, 61*, 467-470. (b) M. Fullan, M. B. Miles, & G. Taylor (1980). Factors associated with success in urban elementary schools. *Phi Delta Kappan, 61*, 467-470. (c) M. Fullan, & A. Pomfret (1977). Research on curriculum and instruction implementation. *Review of Educational Research, 47*, 335-397.

[4] D. C. Gottfredson, C. M. Fink, & G. D. Gottfredson (October 1993). Making prevention work by improving program integrity: A field trial. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Society of Criminology, Phoenix, AZ. See this report for citations to specific studies supporting each point in the list presented here.

2. Teacher morale, sense of efficacy, problem-solving focus, and perceptions of support promote implementation. Schools without a previous record of failure to implement programs are more likely to succeed with innovation than are other schools.

3. Teacher communication skill promotes implementation, but skill deficits impede it.

4. Explicit curricular material that does not confuse teachers and which allows for direct practical application leads to more change than indirect attempts at change.

5. Complex programs are usually downsized or adapted, so that broad programs may produce more substantial change than very simple programs, although the nature of the change is usually not what was intended.

6. Sufficient training is required; small amounts of training may foster communication but not allow implementation problems to be solved. Less training is required with very able staff, and more training will be required for less able workers. High-ability teachers are more likely to learn to implement programs according to plan than are low-ability teachers.

7. Teacher participation in the process of change, training, and planning can promote implementation when their help is needed to adapt program elements or find ways to address obstacles. Teams of faculty can help promote change, especially when the principal is a member of the team.

8. Attempts to change "sacred" norms will meet with resistance, whereas less value-laden aspects of school practices or processes are more easily changed.

9.. Principals' behavior is important in achieving implementation: Principals who initiate change, accommodate to change, and become personally involved in the change process achieve more change than those who work behind the scene, show short-term interest, or who carry out change in response to dictates of others.

10. A lack of resources can limit the implementation of change.

11. Stability of staff promotes a school's ability to implement innovations. In contrast, a turbulent school overwhelmed with basic problems will have difficulty producing change.

Clarity about what is expected will also promote implementation of a program or its components. Kurt Lewin noted that in the absence of concrete indicators of what is to be done, the assessment of accomplishment depends on the predispositions of the individual observer. For this reason, we have urged the Multicultural Program to specify concrete implementation standards by which to judge its own success in implementing each aspect of the program.

Program personnel devoted effort to specifying implementation standards for a few program components. For one of these, the standards were clear and explicit. The implementation standard for tracking is the absence of grouping by race/ethnicity or ability. At this broad level, the standard is clear for elimination of tracking despite the lack of standards for how transition to instruction in non-tracked classrooms will take place or what instruction for heterogeneously grouped students will look like.

Rudimentary implementation standards were specified for portions of other program components as well: procedures for a mediation center, expectations for lessons delivered in an Advisory Homeroom, expectations for the conduct of a Culture Club, a curriculum for a sixth-grade multicultural course and for multicultural content in reading instruction, and aspirations for some parent/community involvement activities. Sometimes these rudimentary standards specify when events will occur, or they indicate expectations for how often students will be allowed to be pulled from other scheduled activities for a club meeting. In other cases they indicate how often and how many lessons of a certain type should be delivered. If formalized and made more complete, these beginnings could have evolved into a full description of what is intended; but they were not sufficiently developed to serve that purpose.

For other areas, standards were not developed. For example, there are no clear guidelines for determining whether teachers make use of learning styles or cooperative learning strategies. The idea of developing implementation standards for instructional methods or techniques was rejected as inappropriate for the culture of teaching in Pittsburgh by the school's program coordinator.

Accordingly, to provide a uniform and "objective" method of describing level of implementation, we have adapted a procedure for describing "level of use" that assumes a developmental process in which practitioners go from a lack of awareness, to awareness and taking limited steps to gain information, to trial, and to regular use.[5]

Overview of Program Components

A snapshot of level of implementation for 23 distinct program components and other features of the school program is presented in Table 9.1. This table shows the percentage of teachers who have at least "tried" each of these innovations in their work (including irregular use and regular use of the program element). In our first assessment in 1991, the list was headed by a common educational practice which is not one of those specifically encouraged by the program — within-class ability grouping. In all, 62% of teachers reported having tried such grouping. Table 9.1 shows that this is still a common practice, although not as common as it was earlier.

For the program elements suggested as innovations by the program, the percentage of teachers who have at least tried the innovation range from 61% for Learning and Teaching Styles to 20% for Cooperative Learning Techniques (CIRC, Jigsaw, STAD, TAI, or TGT). The data show large increases across years in the application of Learning Styles in instruction (38% tried or used to 61%) and the use of Conflict Management techniques (24% tried or used to 35% tried or used.

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[5] G. E. Hall & S. F. Loucks (1979). A development model for determining whether the treatment is actually implemented. *American Educational Research Journal, 14*, 263-276.

Table 9.1. Percentage of teachers who have tried various program elements, use them irregularly, or use them regularly — 1991, 1992, and 1993.

1991	1992	1993	Multicultural program element
		78	CAT action plans
38	36	61	Learning and teaching styles (Dunn)
55	53	54	Peer tutors
62	41	53	Within-class ability grouping
43	43	49	Working with social services in the school
42	44	42	Methods of instruction in heterogeneous (nontracked) groups of students
36	39	39	Multicultural curriculum
26	35	36	Visits to students' homes
24	33	35	Conflict management (including mediation, negotiation)
	18	34	Parent/community meetings
20	20	32	Time-out room
	33	32	Other cooperative learning methods
34	24	30	Speakers or volunteers representing different racial/ethnic/cultural groups
	45	29	Teacher Expectations and Student Achievement (TESA)
16	12	28	Parent or community member volunteers in the classroom
		28	Supercabinet
25	20	27	Flexible scheduling within team
21	11	26	Adult mentors for students
	24	23	Study/Homework Shop
22	17	22	Special programs for involving parents
24	24	20	CIRC, Jigsaw, STAD, TAI, or TGT
	3	7	Support groups for parents
37	34		Instructional action plan, student achievement profiles, and focused lists

The table also shows an increase in Parent-Community Meetings (almost doubled, up 16%), the practice of visiting students' homes (up 10%), and the use of parent or community volunteers in the classroom (up 12%). This trio of increases implies that the school was giving more emphasis to contact and involvement with parents in the most recent year.

For other program components, there is no large increase in use. Little or no progress in the implementation of multicultural curriculum, instructional action plans, or cooperative learning is indicated.

The importance of the principal in initiating innovation and persisting in resolving obstacles to implementation is illustrated by the prominent position of CAT Action Plans in the most current assessment. CAT Action Plans are individualized plans to help students improve their performance on the achievement test. These CAT Action Plans are the successor to an earlier program initiated by the principal — Instructional Action Plans — but are focused on the new achievement test introduced in the district. Although not designated a part of the Multicultural Demonstration, the use of CAT Action Plans was emphasized a great deal by the principal.

The data show another shift that may be related to administrative decisions or practices. More use of a Time-Out Room for handling student discipline problems was reported in 1993 than in earlier years (up from 20% to 32%). The use of the Time-Out Room was not specifically addressed by program plans for the Multicultural Demonstration, but successful implementation of conflict management methods would probably be expected to supplant the use of a Time-Out Room to some extent.

In the 1992 assessment, we asked teachers to report on trial or use of a program called Teacher Expectations and Student Achievement (TESA). This element was added to our assessment because the school-based coordinator had trained faculty in this program, which is intended to increase the extent to which teachers treat students in an equitable fashion. In 1992 45% of teachers reported trying or using TESA techniques. The following year — after the coordinator had been replaced by another — the percentage of teachers reporting trial or use fell to 29%. This pattern suggests the importance of instructional leaders other than the principal in fostering and sustaining innovation.

Teacher turnover in Prospect Middle School has been substantial. In 1993, for example, 19% of teachers who responded to our surveys were new to the school in the 1992-93 school year. In each of our annual assessments, there was

Table 9.2. Percentage of teachers who have tried various program elements, use them irregularly, or use them regularly — Continuing teachers and teachers new to the school.

New	Continuing	All	Multicultural program element
70	79	77	CAT action plans
67	59	60	Learning and teaching styles (Dunn)
20	63	55	Peer tutors
30	58	52	Within-class ability grouping
50	48	48	Working with social services in the school
40	44	43	Methods of instruction in heterogeneous (nontracked) groups of students
50	38	40	Multicultural curriculum
10	44	37	Visits to students' homes
30	37	36	Conflict management (including mediation, negotiation)
50	31	35	Parent/community meetings
22	34	32	Other cooperative learning methods
30	31	31	Time-out room
20	32	30	TESA
20	31	29	Speakers or volunteers representing different racial/ethnic/cultural groups
30	27	28	Flexible scheduling within team
10	31	27	Parent or community member volunteers in the classroom
0	33	27	Adult mentors for students
10	30	26	Supercabinet
17	25	23	Study/Homework Shop
10	26	22	Special programs for involving parents
0	25	20	CIRC, Jigsaw, STAD, TAI, or TGT
0	8	7	Support groups for parents

evidence that staff turnover affects the program: Implementation of the program's innovations is more common among continuing teachers than among new teachers. The most recent information in Table 9.2 shows patterns of use for teachers new to the school in the past academic year compared to continuing teachers according to their reports at the end of the 1992-93 school year. New teachers are less likely to report using many program components at the end of their first year in the school. Most importantly, some program components which require specific and extensive training before teachers can be expected to use them such as CIRC, Jigsaw, STAD, TAI, TGT, or other cooperative learning methods — and TESA — show differences in utilization by continuing and new teachers. Evidently, staff turnover can be expected to thwart efforts to implement the programs that require extensive training in the school. In contrast, the use of CAT Action Plans and orientation to Learning and Teaching Styles can be accomplished with briefer training and do not appear to be as sensitive to staff turnover.

In the remainder of this chapter, we summarize information about level of use, first for each of the eight major components of the multicultural program and then for ancillary or satellite program elements.

Multicultural Curriculum

A cadre of HRTs has worked to develop materials and recommendations to infuse multicultural content into the regular school curriculum and to devise a special multicultural course.

In addition, the Office of Multicultural Education contracted with others to write curriculum materials and made progress in other areas (such as the adoption of new basal reading series).

Table 9.3 shows the extent to which multicultural curriculum has found its way into use by practicing teachers in Prospect. A quarter of reporting teachers indicate regular use of multicultural curriculum. An additional 9% report occasional application (for a total of 34% reporting regular or occasional use). And 5% more report having tried to use multicultural curriculum. But 61% of teachers have not progressed to the trial stage of use.

Learning and Teaching Styles

Most teachers were trained in the assessment of learning styles and in the use of a range of teaching styles. Table 9.3 shows that 22% of teachers reported the regular application of these instructional methods. Most teachers who are not regular users of teaching and learning styles have been trained or obtained information, and 26% of teachers have at least tried the methods even if they are not regular or occasional users.

Cooperative Learning

About a quarter (26%) of responding teachers reported regular or occasional use of cooperative learning methods. Most nonusers know little about these instructional methods.

Cooperative learning strategies are intended to provide a vehicle for the delivery of instruction in classes of heterogeneously grouped students. (Heterogeneous grouping will result from the elimination of tracking.) Accordingly, teachers were asked not just about the use of cooperative learning techniques but also about the use of any methods for instruction with heterogeneously grouped students. As Table 9.3 shows, teachers as a group are not much farther along the continuum of implementation for this more generally described category of instructional practices than for cooperative learning per se, with 19% reporting the regular use of some method for instruction in heterogeneous groups.

Cultural Awareness

A regular feature of the school's Advisory Homeroom was the application of a specially prepared curriculum intended to foster cultural awareness. This activity was carried out as a regular feature of the homeroom sessions, although there was some dissension about the regularity with which the activities were to be pursued.

A program component related to cultural awareness was a Culture Club. This club for African-American boys is intended to foster a capacity to perform the roles expected in multiple cultures. Arrangements for this club were improved over the course of the project, and scheduling was changed to make it possible for students to attend without too often missing the same school subject.

Use of speakers or volunteers representing various racial/cultural groups can be regarded as a further method of promoting cultural awareness. Table 9.3 shows that 10% of teachers reported regular or irregular use of such speakers.

Elimination of Tracking

The assessment of the degree to which there exists ability grouping or grouping by race/ethnicity is a straightforward matter. Either there is grouping by race/ethnicity or prior achievement, or there is not. In our first report, we showed that the school had essentially eliminated classes representing only one racial group. This is a very important outcome of the program, because it demonstrates that it is possible to eliminate ability grouping without dire consequences if a school's leadership is committed to doing so.

Conflict Resolution and Management

The school began the operation of a student mediation center during the 1991-92 school year and continued to operate it during the 1992-93 school year. Staff developed a flow chart of expected operation of the center in the former year, and the center began delivering service. The level of activity was, however, far below the anticipated level. Difficulties in operating the program in full form stemmed in part from a lack of furniture, demands on trained personnel to train others in the district as well as to perform duties in the school, and lack of consent by traditional disciplinarians (the deans) for direct teacher referrals for mediation.

Beginning in the 1992 -1993 school year, teachers could make direct referrals to the mediation center. This removes one obstacle to implementing the program. At the same time, some school administrators were reluctant to make referrals to the center, and differences in the views of administrators and mediation center personnel about the importance of having the center available at all times left periods of time when referrals could not be made to the center. This may have limited the usefulness of the center, and it undermined morale.

The level of use of conflict resolution methods among teachers is summarized in Table 9.3. Forty-five percent of teachers have been trained or had a higher level of involvement. Nevertheless, 85% of teachers do not make regular use of the mediation center or other conflict management methods.

Community/Parent Involvement

Parents and community members were involved in the initial development of the program or assisted in the selection of special program personnel. In addition, the school has gone to the community to distribute report cards at community centers, parents were involved in reviewing books, the school experimented with a mock bank in cooperation with a local financial institution, parents have been contacted at home by phone and through written materials, open-house was held to welcome parents, the principal adopted the practice of sending misbehaving students home to return the following day with a parent, a family night was arranged, and a community development agency has assisted in the development and evaluation of the multicultural program.

Earlier sections have shown that a number of these approaches to reaching or involving the community really did reach it. Substantial fractions of parents report having contact with the school or visiting it, for example.

At the same time, the full potential of the community and parent resources to promote the image of the multicultural education program and assist in achieving its aims has not yet been tapped. Table 9.3 shows that adult mentors from the community are seldom used, few parent or community member volunteers assist teachers in the classroom, about 6% of teachers make visits to students homes either regularly or irregularly, and there is little teacher utilization of other specific methods for involving parents.

Two new activities program staff initiated recently expand the scope of parent and community outreach. Fifteen percent of teachers report involvement in community meetings with parents and 7% report using or trying to make use of parent support groups.

A range of other possibilities for mobilizing parent and community assistance has not, so far as we are aware, been pursued. Among such activities would be the establishment of community action committees, use of focus groups to learn about and address community concerns, or the mobilization of community educational self-help groups. The considerable antagonism of a substantial number of

European-American parents (see earlier chapters) has apparently not been directly addressed. African-American parents, too, show increasing dissatisfaction with the school.

Development of the parent and community involvement strand has mainly involved special events rather than routine activities. Concrete descriptions of programmatic community outreach were not developed. The experience at Prospect illustrates the importance of plans to anticipate and effectively cope with community needs, anxieties, and perceptions. Failure to address community concerns rivals limitations in specifying concrete programs for instructional improvement is a key weakness of the program.

Other Activities

Although not usually identified as core features of the multicultural education program, several other aspects of Prospect's instructional activities program merit description: the use of CAT action plans, peer tutoring, and flexible scheduling within grade-level teams.

Test Preparation Early on, the principal established a system of regular monitoring of student achievement as a method of promoting the achievement of all groups of students. Specifically, testing program results for individual students were scrutinized to identify those at or below the national median, and lists of students targeted for individual action plans were to be developed by teachers. Level-of-use information showed that 25% of teachers made regular or occasional use of this system for monitoring student progress during the 1990-91 school year (Table 9.3). The principal prodded teachers to use instructional action plans for students whose test results flagged them for special attention during the 1990-91 school year.

The principal apparently emphasized these action plans less the following year. In the 1991-92 school year, the percentage of teachers making use of instructional action plans fell to 14%. That year, 41% of continuing teachers report at least having tried instructional action plans, but only 23% of teachers new to the school in the past year report having tried them. That information about level of use for continuing and new teachers illustrated one effect that turnover had on the school's program. But the drop in use among teachers in general implies the importance of the principal's management of a practice.

During the 1992-93 school year, following introduction of a new achievement test by the district, the principal renewed his emphasis on test preparation and renamed the effort the California Achievement Test (CAT) Action Plans. More than three quarters (78%) of teachers reported having at least tried to use CAT Action plans during the 1992-93 school year.

Peer Tutors The regular or irregular use of peer tutors is reported by 27% of teachers. Use of peer tutors decreased somewhat from the level observed initially. Note that use of this presumably effective instructional adjunct is not among the planned features of the program.

Flexible Scheduling One purpose of establishing instructional teams and making use of Instructional Team Leaders in middle schools is to make possible flexible scheduling within these teams to diversify the instructional experiences that the school can make available. Prospect's teachers report making little use of flexible scheduling, although use seems to have increased in the most recent school year.

Readiness for Replication or Dissemination

The Office of Multicultural Education is engaged in an effort to disseminate three program components: conflict resolution, learning styles, and cultural awareness. In this final section, we comment on the programmatic requirements of dissemination and the adequacy of existing resources for this task.

Successfully bringing about planned change in schools usually requires several elements:

- acceptance of a set of clear goals that address real problems perceived by those in the school

- correct understandings of why the problems occur and therefore what causes of these problems must be addressed

- availability of interventions that will address these causes

- specifications of the content of these interventions (what is to be done, with or to whom, to what extent, with what quality)

- credible plans to put these interventions in place

- mechanisms to observe application of interventions and to take corrective action in a timely fashion.

When any of these elements is missing, the outcome of the change effort will usually be dissatisfying. The experience thus far in the demonstration program at Prospect implies that training alone will not accomplish application of new procedures or achieve program goals. The program as now developed at Prospect does not provide a test of the expectation that a multicultural program will produce benefits for students and communities.

District dissemination activities have followed an alternative strategy. Prospect is not being used as a model or demonstration for district-wide dissemination. Instead, program components, whether tested at Prospect or not, are being disseminated.

Discussion

Critical elements of the vision of multicultural education that guided the initiation of the demonstration program remain substantially unrealized at Prospect. In the following paragraphs we discuss difficulties in realizing this vision by reference to the influences on program implementation described at the beginning of this chapter.

1. ***Morale***. When Prospect Middle school was reopened as a Multicultural Education Center, with new faculty, a new principal, and a new mission, staff

morale was good despite the history of difficulties the school had experienced. Thus, although Prospect had a history of poor relations with elements of the community and of disorder within the building, the outlook for innovation was relatively good. The specially selected staff offset — to some degree — the history of problems in the school.

2. **Communication**. Prospect developed communication problems — not because of skill deficits, but because a climate that was not conducive to open discussion of problems evolved. As outside observers, signs of obstacles to open communication included (a) reluctance to discuss program process in other than whispered tones with visitors to the school, (b) the principal's resistance to the conduct of periodic surveys to assess school activities and attitudes, and (c) the survey results which indicated tension rather than teamwork between faculty and administration.

3. **Practical materials.** Prospect demonstrated more success in implementing the more straightforward elements of its program than with the more complex parts. Assessment and modification of classroom environment to accommodate to "learning styles" and CAT Action Plans are examples of straightforward and relatively simple innovations. In contrast, the adoption of cooperative learning instructional methods — which require the acquisition of new skills and programmatic adaptation of instruction to apply the principles of cooperative learning — was more limited.

4. **Downsizing and adaptation.** The multiple components of the Multicultural Education Program made it very complex. The attempt to do so many new things at once was clearly overwhelming. A common observation in faculty responses to our surveys was that there was a great deal being attempted at once. Some of the "downsizing" of program elements essentially forestalled their implementation. But the multiple program elements led to the adoption of considerable change — although the change had a somewhat scattershot nature.

5. **Training**. Insufficient training, support structure, and explicit material assistance was available for cooperative learning, for example, for this

intended program component to be implemented in meaningful form. In the case of cooperative learning, the extent of need for training may not have been understood by the program's implementers. Another area in which staff development was needed for such and ambitious program was in program development itself. Plans called for the faculty at the school to be deeply involved in the development of the program. But unless they have had special training or experience, most educators can be expected to require structured learning experiences and direction to become proficient at program development. Time spent attempting to develop programs provides one source of experience, but in Prospect's case several of the staff who were most rapidly acquiring skills left the school when the multicultural office opened at the Board of Education. Training needs were also increased by a high rate of staff turnover.

6. ***Teacher participation***. Faculty were involved in planning innovation in Prospect from the outset. The high level of staff participation undoubtedly helped the program. Some of those who participated in planning left the school, however, to assist in the district-wide multicultural program. Although the principal was key in initiating and fostering several innovations, he did not participate in planning teams for most of the multicultural program's planned interventions. This probably contributed to some degree to a school with a multicultural program on the one hand and the principal's program on the other.

7. ***Sacred norms***. There is a distinction between "mere practices" and "values" held by the people who inhabit a school community. It seems likely that some of the changes sought by the multicultural program were at odds with some cultural values of some groups — or at least appeared to some persons to be at odds. One example is the attempt to limit the segregation of some talented students in special programs. This practice violated values of many African Americans when proportionately few African-American students are included. But doing away with such special programs violated the values of other groups who saw participation as a just reward of effort and ability. It seems likely that a second example involved the celebration of African, Asian, Latino, Indian, and European cultures. Many European-American community

members did not identify themselves in that way, and saw an emphasis on African heritage (but not, say, Polish or Irish or Czech heritage) as a violation of their sense of balance. Balance, it seems, is to a large degree in the eye of the beholder.

8. ***Principal leadership***. The role of the principal in what was implemented in Prospect seems especially clear. Those activities which were initiated and managed by the principal — notably the CAT Action Plan activity — were put in place more thoroughly than were other components. To the extent to which multicultural program components were selected and managed without being initiated by the principal, their implementation was probably impeded. This raises questions about the most appropriate structure for a new program that is to operate in a school -- particularly a structure that involves the insertion of a quasi-independent administrator to launch and manage a program.

9. ***Resources***. The multicultural program brought many resources to the school beyond those which would ordinarily be available. Mostly, these resources took the form of personnel. These resources became scarcer as time progressed, and the program felt the squeeze of these declining resources.

10. ***Staff stability.*** The loss of key personnel to the district multicultural program and the high degree of faculty turnover hurt the Prospect program's ability to implement its program. This turnover and loss of key staff exacerbated problems staff training and limited the value of the personnel resources which were available. Some of the turnover was intentional, as the principal replaced staff whom he felt were not helping the school program. But much of the turnover was not intended but rather was the result of other more attractive positions either in the District's Office of Multicultural Education or in other schools. One member of the staff reported that he was leaving not just the school but the field of education. Dissatisfaction with the organizational climate and conflict with the school's administration contributed to turnover.

It is difficult to determine to what extent a lack of focus on implementation standards for program components may have limited program implementation. In view of the principle that complex programs tend to be simplified, and other intra-organizational burdens placed upon the program, it may be that the school could not handle the added demands of holding itself accountable for monitoring its implementation activities.

The Multicultural Program at Prospect provides an illustration of the many demands that will be placed on a program required to mount an ambitious multi-faceted program to cope with the daunting and seemingly intractable problem of improving race relations in urban schools.

Chapter 10. The District Context for Multicultural Education [1]

The demonstration program at Prospect was part of the Pittsburgh Schools' more general pursuit of multicultural education. The district established an Office of Multicultural Education, developed and adopted a formal multicultural policy statement, sought to stimulate innovation in support of multicultural ideals in diverse entities in the Board of Education's organizational structure, and launched a vigorous program of staff development to promote the adoption of mediation and other school program improvements. In this chapter we describe the Pittsburgh schools' more general multicultural initiatives.

The Board of Education ratified the Policy Statement on Multiracial, Multiethnic, Multicultural Education in the Pittsburgh Public Schools in June 1991. This chapter traces the development of the multicultural initiative from its inception through the Fall of 1993. To put the issues in perspective, we discuss first the questions that guided our examination and the methods we used to gather data. The next section discusses the formulation of the multicultural policy, followed by the specific implications of the policy and the initiative as a whole. We take up public response to the policy and current status in the last two sections. The policy statement (hereafter called the multicultural policy) consists of four elements: philosophy, goals, principles of practice, and a glossary of terms. The statement is reproduced in an appendix.

The Statement of Philosophy outlines the broad concepts that underlie the multicultural initiatives. For example, the multicultural program is inclusive of five geo-cultural groups (African Americans, Asian Americans, European Americans, Hispanic Americans, and Native Americans) and the many specific ethnic, religious, and nationality groups subsumed by these five broad clusters.

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[1] This chapter was written with the assistance of Julie Lopes and Gillian Edgehill.

This statement also calls for the celebration of diversity and it seeks equity in programs and services, equitable representation in staffing, curriculum and instructional reform to eliminate stereotypes and segmentation, and inclusion of all groups. It endorses staff development to promote equity in teaching and the awareness of pluralism.

According to the policy, the goals of multicultural education are: 1) programs will respect and represent diversity; 2) respect for diversity will be seen in hiring, staffing and personnel evaluation; 3) curriculum will reflect the inclusion of diverse groups and afford an understanding of these groups; 4) the dignity of all individuals will be respected; 5) heterogeneous grouping for instruction will be practiced and ability grouping will be eliminated; 6) parents and community will partake in multicultural initiatives; and 7) staff development will prepare teachers to adapt instruction to the needs of all and to value all children.

A statement of Principles of Practice and a Glossary complete the policy document. The principles briefly specify directions for staff development, assessment, peer group relations, employment, and grouping; and the glossary defines key terms.

Issues and Method

Our examination of the adoption of the policy was a retrospective look — supplemented by an examination of the current multicultural situation.

The following questions organized our inquiry.

Issues

What events led to the initial formulation of program goals? Who was involved in decision making? What was the level of support for these goals among stakeholders? What changes in goals occurred as program implementation proceeded? What led to the shifts?

What interventions were developed to meet specific program objectives? What was the level of support for these interventions from stakeholders? Were resources adequate for implementation at planned levels?

What changes in policy and procedure were planned in anticipation of the implementation of the multicultural policy? Who was involved in the planning?

What were unanticipated changes in policy and procedure? When did these changes occur? How were they addressed? Who was involved in the decision making? Were resources adequate to support the changes?

What has been the public's response to the multicultural policy and programs?

What is the current status of the program? Who are the major stakeholders and what is their level of support for the program? What is the status of implementation? Is there evidence of institutionalization?

Method

We collected both interview and archival data. Interviews were conducted with 16 persons who provided information on the questions outlined above from the perspective of the roles they played in the initiative. The sample included seven persons in the District administration, six persons who serve as building and area personnel, and three members of the community. The interviews used a protocol with open-ended items and probes. The interview questions are shown in an Appendix.

We examined archival sources as a basis for documenting decisions, processes, and the nature and timing of communications among District leaders and others associated with implementation. Specific records included minutes of meetings (such as meetings of the Board of Education and the Multicultural Steering Committee), resolutions and recommendations of the Board, formal and informal reports, and press releases from the Public Awareness Office.

Formulating the Policy

Origins

The origins of the Board's multicultural policy can be traced to 1986 and the efforts of the School Neighborhood Consortium (SNC). The consortium was a project of the Education Fund of the Allegheny Conference on Community Development, an organization of chief executive officers of major Pittsburgh corporations. SNC was convened jointly by the mayor, the chairman of the school board, and the head of the Allegheny Conference; it included representatives from public agencies and private organizations. The group was organized to find ways to ease racial tensions in the city. Soon, its discussions focused on the data concerning achievement and suspensions. Although both Black and White students were making overall progress in achievement, the difference between African Americans and European Americans had stabilized in the mid-1980's. The remaining gap seemed resistant to public school efforts to close it. By 1988, the difference in the percentage of Black and White students above the national median in reading was 30%, 24% in language, and 35% in math. Moreover, there was a core group of Black and White students with low achievement. School district data also demonstrated a large difference in the suspension rates of Black and White students.

At the same time, the SNC staff made plans to build trust and mutual respect between the schools and the communities they served. SNC identified Prospect Middle School in Mount Washington as a school that could benefit from closer ties between school and its feeder neighborhoods. The SNC Director focused on the Hill district, which is predominantly African American and geographically distant from Prospect Middle School, which is located in a predominately European-American, working-class neighborhood.

SNC efforts to improve relations between the Hill community and Prospect were thwarted by several problems. One obstacle was that parents perceived the school as unwelcoming because there were so few African-American teachers. A second obstacle was staff concerns that changing family dynamics would produce unwanted problems from African-American males and from students experiencing poverty.

These and other barriers were documented in a report that addressed SNC accomplishments and outlook as of the end of the 1987-1988 school year. The report outlined themes that were subsequently incorporated into the design for the demonstration project, including parent involvement, learning/teaching styles, and cultural identity, with the latter especially focused on black families and African-American males.

Goals

In May 1989, the planning effort culminated in a proposal for a three-year, $1.6 million initiative. Funders included the ALCOA Foundation, the Buhl Foundation, the H. C. Frick Foundation, the R. K. Mellon Foundation, the Pew Charitable Trusts, the Pittsburgh Foundation, and the Scafe Family Foundation.

This initiative had two goals: (a) to infuse a multiracial, multiethnic, and multicultural perspective in the development of system-wide policies, priorities, and programs, and (b) to improve the climate for learning and increase academic performance at Prospect Middle School.

The Multicultural Policy Statement sought to clarify the goals, objectives, and required practices of the initiative. Despite the adoption of the policy statement, diverse views about the true intent of the initiative remain. For example, among respondents at the school level, one of the most common responses to the question, "What is the goal of the multicultural program?" was not one of the stated goals, but instead was the perceived goal of closing the racial achievement gap to increase Black student achievement. This perception is also common among the district leaders we interviewed.

Some of the differences stem in part from the way in which the initiative was publicized at the outset. The original proposal stated as one of its objectives, "To increase academic performance and to decrease the racial achievement gap between minority and majority students as measured by reading, language, and mathematics achievement tests."[2]

Moreover, media reports in the spring and summer of 1989 reported the goals of the program as: (a) to reduce racism and racial tensions, and (b) to decrease the racial achievement gap. Since that time, segments of the public have viewed the initiative simply as an attempt to help Black students at the expense of White students. This was evident in the parent surveys we conducted at Prospect over a three year period.

Strategy

Programmatic strategy. The initial components of the multicultural program included: (a) The Prospect Multicultural Center which opened during the 1989-90 school year; (b) the Multicultural Steering Committee, organized in 1989; and (c) establishment of the Office of Multicultural Education in fall 1989, after an extensive search for the cabinet-level Director.

Later the initiative was expanded to include the Board of Visitors — which made its first visit in fall 1990 — and an evaluation, which began in January 1991.

Strategies for change and dissemination. The initiative took a two-pronged approach to generating change in the school district. The first was to emphasize the commitment of the superintendent and school district leadership to addressing systemic changes. The rationale for this strategy was straightforward: By addressing institutionalized inequities, promoting cultural awareness, and fully supporting the initiative, the District leadership could generate changes in decision making that involved both policy and practice.

The second aspect of the approach was the identification of effective teacher and parent strategies that would eventually be disseminated throughout the district. By developing parent and teacher components at the school level, these models could in turn be used to alter classroom instruction and school climate.

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[2] A Proposal for *The Multiracial, Multiethnic, Multicultural Program*, May 15, 1989, p. 11.

Learning for all students would thereby be enhanced, and parent and community support for all schools would be improved.

Dissemination strategies were announced in September 1990 and expanded in Winter 1992. The initial plans called for replication of program elements from Prospect. Replication was also included in the expansion, along with adoption (taking exemplary external programs into schools and classrooms), and empowerment (seeking out, and supporting exemplary programs developed by teachers, students, and administrators).

Influences of the Multicultural Policy

The following section considers how the multicultural policy influenced a range of outcomes. We have organized the discussion to correspond to the stated goals of the policy statement pertaining to employment policies and procedures, curriculum design and implementation, elimination of tracking, and professional development. The initiatives' effects on school discipline and services to talented students are also discussed. Although outcomes in these areas were not mentioned in the policy statement, development in these domains have had important implications for the multicultural program.

Employment Policies and Procedures

Influence. In 1989, people of color held 20 percent of the 552 teaching positions in the district. In contrast, 52 percent of the student population was African American. The school district sought to increase the percentage of African American teachers to 35% by the 1993-1994 school year, and during the 1991-92 school year formed a committee to explore options for recruiting more African American teachers. These efforts have had little influence. The teaching workforce remains roughly 20 percent minority.

Respondent views. We asked administrators and staff at the school building level about their views on how the hiring of teachers had been affected by the policy. Most agree that efforts had been made to hire more African-

American teachers, but they conceded that these attempts were unsuccessful. The eligibility list was cited as one element that restricts hiring. Getting on the list requires the individual to exceed a criterion score on the National Teachers Examination (NTE) and to meet other standards, including a satisfactory panel interview and review of credentials. Pittsburgh uses a point system to evaluate candidates for eligibility. The breakdown is 30 points for tests (NTE, classroom management, and content area), 30 points for the credential evaluation, and 40 points for the panel interview. The District is required by law to hire from the eligibility list. Some respondents also viewed as impediments seniority regulations and union concern about lowered standards in the workforce.

Curriculum Design and Implementation

Influence. The multicultural initiative stimulated substantial changes in curricula. The McGraw-Hill Reading Program, a new basal series featuring multicultural content, was introduced during the 1991-92 school year. Guidelines for infusing multicultural content were available in reading and language as early as the spring 1991 school year. These and subsequent guidelines were developed at the district level and specified seven areas of infusion: content, support/linking activities, teaching strategies, assessment strategies, selection of instructional materials, learning activities, and classroom environment.

In June 1993, the Board announced a change in its social studies requirements. High school students can now take African-American History as one of three required social studies courses. Previously, the course had been an elective. Other announced changes called for (a) infusion into world geography of the sixth-grade course, "Understanding Cultural Diversity," which had been piloted at Prospect for two years; (b) multicultural units to be developed for use in elementary schools beginning in 1994-95; (c) multicultural content to be infused in the World Cultures course, a high school social science course; and (d) a community advisory panel to be convened to assist in curriculum development and to secure community input on changes.

Respondent Views. While all respondents agreed that a multicultural curriculum was needed, they offered diverse views about these developments.

Most cited one to three concerns. For example, they worried that the curriculum would be watered down and that multicultural education might simply be an add-on.

A minority of respondents expressed strong views on curriculum reform, however. The substance of these views can be summarized as follows.

1. The multicultural curriculum effort warranted an initiative in its own right.
2. The multicultural curriculum must be embedded in all levels of curriculum reform — from the themes that organize instructional materials, to instructional practices and assessments of student learning.
3. Teacher awareness is insufficient to insure that reforms in attitudes and practice will occur in the classroom; methods of accountability are needed.

These concerns for a deeper infusion process — particularly at the classroom level — echo annual recommendations from the Board of Visitors. For example, the 1990 report on Prospect commented that "we saw minimal evidence of infusion of multicultural concepts and materials in the four targeted curricular areas: reading, language, science, and arts."

Elimination of Tracking

Influence. The policy statement defines tracking as the grouping of students that leads to a fixed schedule and segregates students by academic ability, race, gender, or social status throughout a school day. This form of tracking is prohibited in the Pittsburgh Public Schools by the policy.

Other forms of grouping can and do occur. The multicultural policy specifies that homogeneous grouping can occur, but as the exception rather than the rule. The readers of the policy are referred to statements from the Divisions of Mathematics and Reading. These statements, based on research and national mathematics standards, provide rationales for homogenous grouping.

The Pittsburgh Scholars Program (PSP), which identifies students in the eighth grade on the basis of tests, other assessments, and teacher nominations, also involved grouping by ability.

Respondent views. Most respondents agreed that tracking does not enhance learning for lower- or for higher-achieving students. But many respondents noted that teachers sometimes prefer tracking for ease in instruction and that tracking in some subjects (for example, reading) may be useful. Several individuals stated their belief that research does not support the use of ability grouping.

Divergent views on ability grouping were expressed. Most African-American respondents and some others seemed to regard homogeneous student grouping as self-evident examples of inequity. They expected equal representation and took differential access as simple bias. In contrast, other respondents spoke of valuing effort and the recognition of talent. To these respondents, equal representation of students in a program for talented youngsters was not an expected outcome. In this sense, there was an apparently uncomfortable disagreement among our informants.

Staff Development

Influence. The multicultural initiative has influenced staff development throughout the system. As of June 1993 some teachers in Prospect Middle School and in 20 elementary schools had been trained to assess students' individual cognitive learning styles, to match instruction to particular styles, and to teach using a variety of styles. Principals, most District personnel, and many teachers have attended multicultural education orientations.

Respondent views. All respondents agreed that the staff development activity offered by the Office of Multicultural Education has been beneficial. Many of the respondents noted that training had heightened awareness in areas such as racial disparities in achievement and hiring practices, although there was some concern that training would be curtailed due to budget cuts or that it had not reached enough teachers.

Some respondents commented that teachers who agree with the tenets of multicultural education are attempting to incorporate the new ideas and that those who do not agree have no reason to translate their skills into practice. This view is consistent with the concerns of the Board of Visitors. The Visitors commented in their 1991 report, which was based on visits to Prospect and other schools in the District, as follows: "Emphasis on teacher training which addresses both content and the values elements of multicultural education is a key component of lasting program success. Training therefore must link informational and attitudinal tracks leading to the comprehensive content and values of multicultural education."

School Discipline

Influence. The multicultural policy makes no explicit mention of school discipline; but, the multicultural program has directly addressed the disparate disciplinary treatment of African-American boys — an issue consistent with the aims of the policy.

The introduction of mediation centers in the schools was planned as early as Fall 1990. Since that time teachers in 27 middle and high schools were trained as mediators. Mediation centers were opened in all high schools and all but two middle schools. The program has attributed decreased out-of-school suspensions to the presence of the mediation centers. This claim is based on tallies of students dealt with in mediation centers and for whom a claim was made that a suspension would result had mediation been unavailable. Evidence of this kind is not persuasive.

Additional discipline-related issues were identified by the Exclusionary Practices Subcommittee of the Multicultural Education Task Force after the subcommittee reviewed suspension data, failure and retention rates, dropout rates, and other data. The subcommittee selected two topics for discussion with school principals in January 1992: long-term suspensions and suspensions for truancy, tardiness, and other "passive" acts. Following these discussions each school submitted plans for the 1992-93 school year.

Respondent Views. The respondents' views were diverse, ranging from uncertainty about the influence of multicultural education of discipline, to concern about the adequacy of procedures to monitor goals and activities, to skepticism about the relevance of multicultural education as an alternative to suspensions and other disciplinary issues. Respondents generally endorsed the efforts of mediation centers.

Services for Gifted Students

Influence. The multicultural policy states that "all educational programs, services, and staff must respect and be representative of the cultural, social, ethnic, socio-economic, language, and gender backgrounds of the city, state, nation, and world."

Services for gifted students have been of concern to the program due to the underrepresentation of African Americans. Students can be screened for talent in an area on the basis of parental requests, teacher or administrator requests, and test scores (California Achievement Tests) or IQ (130 and above). Students can be identified at any grade level and can be pulled out to receive special services.

Heightened awareness of the need to identify gifted African-American students and economically disadvantaged students of all ethnic/racial groups and developing procedures to screen these students are overall objectives. Toward these ends, the District applied for and received funding for a federal grant (the Javits grant). This sponsored project is in the second of three years and is screening and identifying children in the kindergarten of 11 schools. The target number is 30 children per year. As of November 1993, 23 students of the initial group of 30 had been identified as gifted. Additional numbers toward the target are anticipated.

Respondent views. Respondents differed in their views on gifted programs. Their comments ranged from opinions that some African-American students may have been identified who did not meet the criteria, to observations that some teachers who did not want to change their views of African Americans as having potential in the gifted range resisted efforts to include them in a gifted program. Most respondents believed that one result of program activity was increased awareness of the underrepresentation of African-American students.

Public Response

We asked respondents about their perceptions of the initial public response to the multicultural initiative and any changes that they noted.

A few respondents reported that there was great skepticism about the initiative on the public's part. The public had seen other initiatives come and go in the schools; consequently real changes were expected to be minimal. Another minority voiced the opinion that the public was either unaware or unconcerned.

Most respondents believed that initial public response was more positive. According to these views, the public welcomed the initiative and had great hopes for its potential.

The dialogue over multicultural education continued and grew among teachers, parents, students, and citizens. Over the three years in which we sampled parental concerns about the Prospect demonstration school, we found racial polarization, particularly around the curriculum and school safety. Our district interview respondents also reported the diverging views of European Americans and African Americans. For example, the curriculum is viewed by African Americans as too Eurocentric, and by European Americans as too Afrocentric.

Tracking has been another hotly debated issue. Dissent over the Multicultural Policy on tracking surfaced in a board meeting when a proposal to redirect services for the gifted was introduced. The proposal called for providing services to gifted students in their home schools, thereby eliminating the need to be bussed to two schools that offered classes. A vocal group of White parents was strongly opposed to the changes.

Our interview respondents were divided in their views about the source of opposition. Some viewed it as the result of poor public relations and lack of information available to parents; another segment saw it as a fundamental flaw in the policy; and others viewed it as a clash in the core values of equal opportunity (in terms of equal outcomes) on the one hand and recognizing and rewarding talent and hard work on the other.

One respondent summed it up neatly: The polarization over curriculum, tracking, and other issues reflects the polarization occurring at all levels in the Pittsburgh community and the larger American society.

Current Status

Like other urban school systems, hard economic times have squeezed the school system's budget. This squeeze, and a change in the District's leadership following the retirement of Richard Wallace early in 1993, led to a drastic reorganization of the Board's bureaucracy in June, 1993. In the leaner organization, Regional Superintendents were replaced by Lead Principals, units formerly headed by Directors were merged with others to reduce the number of Director-level administrators.

In announcing plans in a June 1993 report to the community, new Superintendent Louise R. Brennan explained the need for reorganization and highlighted Board priorities. Multicultural education remains an initiative with priority.

During the summer of 1993, plans made in preparation for the change at the District level were implemented. The Office of Multicultural Education became one of several units designed to provide support services to schools. The staff in the unit of multicultural education was retained (now located in the Division of Support Services), and these individuals are now carrying out their roles in training and awareness.

Among our respondents, a third reported they were unsure about the current status of multicultural education in the district. Those who were aware of the changes made comments that reflected matters of fact (e.g., that the schools are now required to present their plans for multicultural education) and matters of opinion (for example, all the controversial elements of the program have been dropped).

Summary

Table 10.1 presents a summary of key events of the Pittsburgh Multicultural Initiative. What began as an effort of the School Neighborhood Consortium to improve conditions in Pittsburgh eventually became a highly structured and visible program which attracted $1.6 million in private funding.

The program had controversial elements — tracking and changes in employment were the most visible — but many of its elements garnered substantial support. Multicultural education continues as a priority today in the Pittsburgh Public Schools, but the responsibility for change resides mainly at the local level, in individual schools.

Table 10.1. Chronology of Activities and Objectives: Pittsburgh Multicultural Initiative.

Activities	Date	Objectives	Comments
School Neighborhood Consortium (SNC) Meeting	9/21/87		A working paper written by Marcia Snowden was discussed. Some of the highlights were developing a network of communication and involvement among schools, parents and community. The targeted school is Prospect Middle school.
Letter to Margaret Petruska, Program Officer of The Pittsburgh Foundation, about proposal for the 3-year demonstration	11/2/87	The objective of demonstration project is to promote an effective partnership between the school and the community.	
SNC Meeting	5/24/88		The SNC lists in "Future Directions" the need to acknowledge cultural diversity to allow schools to better understand the black family and to foster parent, community, school relationships. The SNC recommended to the Board of Education that there be a change in staffing at Prospect School, a climate study, and the school be designated as a "pilot multicultural human relations school."
Draft of Proposal for Multicultural Program	11/22/88	To address cultural diversity in schools.	According to school district data the gap in achievement is not closing between the races. This may be because the students do not feel connected to the school. The district wants to make school more relevant to students by infusing cultural awareness into the school. Allegheny Conference on Community Development (ACEF) proposes the establishment of the multicultural program.
Initial meeting of the Steering Committee	2/13/89	To provide direction for the multicultural effort.	

Activities	Date	Objectives	Comments
Prospect Middle School Center for Multiracial, Multicultural Education Needs Assessment	4/17/89		School data on achievement gap, suspensions, and retention are presented.
Proposal for Multiracial, Multiethnic, Multicultural Program submitted	5/15/89	1) To infuse a multiracial, multiethnic, multicultural perspective in the development of system-wide policies and programs. 2) To improve the climate for learning and increase academic performance at Prospect Middle School.	Stakeholders on Board: Superintendent Wallace Deputy Superintendent Brennen Pittsburgh School Board Community groups ACEF, SNC
Robert Pipkin is hired as the new principal at Prospect Middle School. Prospect Middle School closes, new teaching staff is hired.	6/89		Teacher's Union agrees to waive contract issues to allow for staff reassignment.
Stan Denton is hired as Director of Office of Multicultural Education	6–7/1989		Cabinet Level position is developed for multicultural director.
Board of Visitors formed	1989		
The Multiracial, Multiethnic, Multicultural Program begins	1989-1990 School year		
Prospect Parent Community Involvement Project	5/8/90	1) To increase parental involvement in school. 2) To increase teacher interaction with parents. 3) To increase participation of community institutions in school activities. 4) To increase special projects in school and in neighborhoods that are run by community organizations for Prospect students.	

Activities	Date	Objectives	Comments
Final Committee Report Restructuring Prospect Multicultural Center	5/15/90		Development of mission statements for the eight planning committees
Needs Assessment for Feeder communities of the Prospect Multicultural Center	6/5/90		750 surveys distributed into communities. There were 76 responses, most from Mount Washington and the Hill district, least from the South Side. Every community felt there was an inadequate amount of programs and places for youth, and that drugs is a concern. Most recognized the need for schools and communities to work together.
Final Report of work activities regarding the Prospect Multicultural Center	7-8/1990		Establishment of Parent Information Corners at the Kaufmann Program Center. Information pertained to the Prospect Multicultural Center, education literature form the Board of Education, and information on careers, training and continuing adult education. Parents are interested in forming a parents organization.
SNC Meeting	7/17/90		Using the Practices Grid, information from grids was compiled identifying facilitating factors and barriers to multicultural practices.
Board of Visitors -1st Visit	11/13-16/ 1990		

Activities	Date	Objectives	Comments
Development of the SNC Action plan	11/1990		The School Neighborhood Consortium focuses on encouraging institutional policies, programs, and practices that promote gender, race and ethnic equity in the school district, neighborhoods, and institutions in the community. In order to help in the multicultural initiative the SNC will undertake the following strategies: 1 encourage the development of training programs for neighborhood organizations to assess, analyze, and address the impact of policies, programs, and practices on race, gender, and ethnic equity; 2) build comprehensive models of school/ neighborhood collaboration incorporating race, gender and ethnic equity; 3) advocate and support school district activities to promote equitable organizational practices, policies and programs.
Prospect School Community Council Meeting	3/19/91	To identify multicultural issues within Prospect's five feeder communities to be targeted by this committee.	Each organizational Consortium member will designate a representative on programming for students.
Board of Visitors 2nd Visit	5/ 21-23/ 1991		Agenda: Discussion on district-wide issues with Dr. Wallace; Sessions on : Cognitive Learning and Teaching Styles, Conflict Resolution, Cultural Awareness, Curriculum Infusion, Parent Community Involvement, and Advisory Homeroom; Dialogue with Division of Curriculum and Program management; District-wide Multicultural Steering Committee Meeting
Adoption of policy on Multiracial, Multiethnic, Multicultural Education by Pittsburgh Public Schools	6/1991	The policy was designed to increase student achievement and equity throughout the district.	

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Activities	Date	Objectives	Comments
Super Cabinet Roundtable created by Robert Pipkin. Multicultural Cabinet Meeting	9/20/91	To address issues of implementation and direction at Prospect.	
Policy Statement Implementation Committee formed	10/2/91	To organize training and monitoring sessions and to discuss issues pertaining to the policy statement.	The subcommittees are: Grouping within schools, Dissemination of policy, and Exclusionary practices.
Board of Visitors 3rd Visit	11/12-15/ 1991		Agenda: Informal observations of daily activities at Prospect Center; Multicultural Forum on "Parental Involvement for Academic Success;" Steering Committee Meeting.
Board of Visitors Report	11/1991		The Board of Visitors recommends the following: Emphasis on teacher training which addresses the content and values of multicultural education for lasting program success. The need for added supports for students and career counseling, college recruiting, and admissions information must be made accessible in a consistent and positive fashion. Increase parent involvement, and positive communication with people in the schools.
Dissemination of policy Subcommittee - Principal orientation on the policy	1/1992		
Dissemination of policy Subcommittee - Awareness flowchart distributed	1/1992		
Grouping within schools Subcommittee - Revisions of statements about grouping in reading and math	1/1992		

Activities	Date	Objectives	Comments
Final report from Beatrice Fennimore	1/7/92		Suggestions from Board of Visitors to continue multicultural effort in Pittsburgh Public Schools
Dissemination of policy Subcommittee - "I, too, sing America "is decided and a publisher found.	2/1992		Came out Spring 1993 for the awareness campaign
Exclusionary practices Subcommittee - Dr. Kerr who is chair requests she be allowed to draft a formal document .	2/1992		
Groups within schools Subcommittee - addresses the issues of tracking and school and classroom management. Creation of a grouping handbook	2/1992		
Multicultural Education Program Evaluation	10/3/91		Spring 1991 Student Survey Feedback – Prospect Middle School
SNC Action Request	4/22/92		In search for a new superintendent, all consortium members are requested to take certain actions to influence the School Board to hire someone who has a commitment to multiculturalism.
Board of Visitors 4th Visit	5/1992		
Board of Visitors Report	5/1992		Observations made by the Board of Visitors: Role for the Superintendent and administration in the institutionalization of the multicultural model developed at Prospect.; Local sources of information on African American culture are available for use in conjunction with other sources.

Activities	Date	Objectives	Comments
Conflict resolution and learning style implemented	10/1992		The Multicultural Office sets out to train personnel.
Pittsburgh Public Schools Reorganization plan	10/1992		Creation of six major functional units to report directly to the Superintendent of Schools. The units are school affairs, business affairs, pupil affairs, human resources, planning and development and public affairs. The Multicultural Office is now in the School Support Division
Board of Visitors 5th Visit	1/12-13/ 1992		Agenda Multicultural Steering Committee Meeting Technical Assistance Sessions with Restructured Schools Multicultural Forum on "Multicultural Curriculum Infusion" Informal dialogue with District Leadership
Second Evaluation Team Report	2/1993	Provide an account of progress and problems for the program	Perceived critical feedback distanced Prospect leadership from the evaluation.
Spring 1993 school surveys	5/1993	Provide data on program outcomes	Principal wished to cancel data collection but agreed to proceed.
Board of Visitors Last Visit	5/19-21/ 1993		
Addition of African American History course in the high schools can be used to fulfill requirements for graduation	6/1993		
Superintendent Brennen's report to the community: Restructuring for the '90s	6/1993		Multicultural education is one of the priorities of the School Board.

Activities	Date	Objectives	Comments
Pittsburgh Public Schools restructuring plan calls for the establishment of school community councils to engage parents and community members in the multicultural initiative.	8/1993		

Chapter 11. Evaluation and the Prospect Program

In this section we reflect on our evaluation activities — describing the approach we intended to take with the Prospect Multicultural Education Program, and describing some events that influenced the course of our activities and the products.

As usually understood, program evaluation is activity undertaken to learn what was done in a program with what effects. Although traditional evaluation is valuable in many contexts, some elaborations or extensions of traditional approaches are especially appropriate in the context of an ambitious, multifaceted program with goals related to the solution of social problems that may appear nearly intractable.

Evaluation for Program Development

We proposed to apply a structured approach to evaluation in the service of program development known as *Program Development Evaluation.*[1] Program Development Evaluation is a form of experimental (and quasi-experimental) action research that seeks answers to traditional questions but which puts evaluation directly in the service of program development by:

1. Fostering program implementer ownership of evaluation activity through their collaboration in evaluation design and implementation.

2. Clarifying the relation of each program component to program theory.

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[1] G. D. Gottfredson (1984). A theory-ridden approach to program evaluation: A method for stimulating researcher-implementer collaboration. *American Psychologist, 39,* 1101-1112. G. D. Gottfredson, D. E. Rickert, D. C. Gottfredson, & N. Advani (1984). Standards for program development evaluation plans. *Psychological Documents, 14,* 32. (Ms. No. 2668).

3. Specifying the objectives each component of the program is intended to achieve.

4. Specifying implementation standards to clarify how, when, how much, and with whom each portion of the program is to be implemented.

5. Using information developed through evaluation activities as feedback for program implementers to assist in the evolution of the program.

6. Merging behavioral science theory and methods of organization development with evaluation activity to improve effectiveness in implementing and developing the program.

This structure for organizing evaluation and program development activity (called PDE for short) requires collaboration between evaluators and program designers and implementers. When successfully applied, evaluation becomes an integral part of the program and its development, not merely an add-on to address traditional evaluation questions. One nontraditional role for evaluators in the application of the PDE approach is that of developer of the skills of program implementers in considering ways to enhance the evaluability of their program components and to think rigorously about the manner in which the implementation of their program elements should be assessed. As a result, evaluation procedures and results entail no mystery, and the features of implementation and outcomes assessed in both formative and outcome evaluation are those of concern to the program's developers.

For the Prospect evaluation, we also sought information using archives and interviews with key individuals. And we attempted for a time to use the critical incident method.[2]

Formative evaluation is an integral part of the application of the PDE method. According to this method, evaluation is a cycle of activities in which scrutiny of what happened with what effect initially is followed by the use of the resulting information to reconsider each intervention to identify ways to strengthen the design of the intervention or its implementation. This results in a cycle of activities in which a program is improved on each iteration of evaluation activities. When successful, this cycle, represented by Figure 2, is really an upward spiral or helix in which more refined questions are asked about more refined interventions on each iteration.

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[2] J. C. Flanagan (1954). The critical incident technique. *Psychological Bulletin, 51*, 327-358.

Simply making a thorough attempt to describe an intended program in terms of the elements shown in Figure 3 is one form of formative evaluation. In early stages of the application of the PDE structure for evaluation it is common to find that those implementing a program are unclear about the rationale (theory of action) for their program and could benefit from a more clearly articulated set of guiding principles to give direction to the host of day-to-day unanticipated choices that any program implementer must make. Similarly, in early stages of applying the structure it is common to find that there are no clear standards for implementation so that it is unclear to whom what interventions are to be applied, when, under what conditions, for how long, in what form, by whom, and how. Although it seems self-evident that those charged with the responsibility for delivering an intervention should have a clear set of specifications for what is to be delivered, in practice clear standards for what is to be implemented are absent in most educational and social programs.

Evolution of Relations Between Evaluation and the Program

As we initiated evaluation activity with program personnel in Prospect during the 1990-91 school year, this PDE approach appeared well suited to the task. The Director of Multicultural Education, the School-Based Coordinator, and Human Resources Teachers (HRTs) worked with us to elaborate the program theory, help us identify appropriate assessments of objectives, and began to devise clear statements of intervention components. This initial collaborative activity was the source of our account of program theory and the basis for the development of the survey instruments used in the evaluation.

This initial work and surveys conducted in the school and community were summarized in a first evaluation report issued early in 1992. School staff were briefed on the report and participated in spirited discussions of it.

By the 1991-92 school year, the staffing and organizational arrangements for the program in Prospect had changed greatly. The Director of Multicultural Education moved from the school to the Board of Education building, a new School-Based Coordinator had joined the program, and several HRTs who had played key roles in the initial development of the project moved from the school to the Office of Multicultural Education. In short, most of the key actors who had helped to define the program and begin to create the framework for evaluation — although active in the school district — were no longer active in the Prospect demonstration program.

The incoming School-Based Coordinator did not agree with us about the importance of specifying implementation standards. In general, whereas the PDE approach requires identifying obstacles and clarifying their nature in order to devise plans to overcome them, the culture of the program that evolved during the 1991-92 school year was no longer matched to the assumptions and principles used by our PDE approach. Two key examples illustrate the mismatch. (1) Further attempts to state and assess implementation standards were rejected in favor of an approach that called for training and then allowing each member of the staff to decide how to make use of the training. (2) Requests to identify critical incidents — instances when something happened that facilitated or thwarted progress in the project — were rejected as inappropriate.

The second report from the evaluation was distributed in early 1993. This report implied that greater effort directed at building parent/community ownership of the program would be required. Unlike the first report that provided baseline (or needs assessment) information, the second report also mapped progress across years. A draft of the report was distributed at a Board of Visitors meeting at which the evaluation team was not in attendance. Prospect's principal was not prepared for the report or to cope with its contents. He felt (as we would have under similar circumstances) ambushed. This incident further impaired our ability to engage personnel in Prospect in using information for program development.

The Prospect program had begun the 1992-93 school year with yet another School-Based Coordinator — the third in three years. The third Coordinator had no part in devising the framework for evaluation, and she joined the program without an orientation to the plans to use information for program development. The difficulty that the Principal had experienced with the second report, may have influenced the Coordinator to view the evaluation as external and unhelpful rather than as an attempt to assist in program development.

By the spring of 1993, those with leadership responsibility for the program in Prospect — the Principal and the Coordinator — no longer appeared to view the evaluation as an asset. The Principal wished to cancel data collection activities, but was prevailed upon to allow this activity to proceed. Clearly, however, our third-year surveys were not an event celebrated by the Principal.

Success of the Evaluation

Whatever its value in describing what happened in Prospect and what resulted, we do not judge the evaluation to have been successful in applying the PDE approach to making evaluation useful for program development. An important part of this disappointing outcome is what proved to be a mismatch between the evaluation approach and the approach of those who eventually came to have responsibility for the demonstration program in the school. As a result, this evaluation was probably no more useful to the ultimate development of the program in the school than a more conventional approach to evaluation would have been. Personnel initially at Prospect who moved to the Office of Multicultural Education, however, may have benefited from practice in applying the techniques of PDE in their continuing work in the district.

Chapter 12. Epilogue on Evaluating a Multicultural Program

This evaluation discussed six challenges that Pittsburgh's Multicultural Education program faced: (1) achieving respect and understanding for all groups, (2) gaining community confidence in the school, (3) securing ownership of the multicultural ideal among staff, students, parents, and the school district, (4) fostering student psychosocial development, (5) enhancing students' career and educational aspirations, and, (6) furthering the academic achievement of all groups. We described the Prospect Center's experience as one that began with an enthusiastic staff, sizable resources, and the clout of the school district. Staff and curriculum development were highlights as were activities for cultural awareness. But, by the end of the funding period, many of the staff and parents were disillusioned.

The story at the district level was a mixed one. Progress was made in staff development, the establishment of mediation centers, and curriculum development. The Prospect activity clearly contributed to the success of District-wide activities through the use of District staff development personnel, use of staff with prior experience in Prospect, and funding for the Board of Visitors. However, there was less progress on some of the more controversial questions.

We present this final chapter in the spirit in which the evaluation was designed: as a mechanism for collaboration, shared responsibility, and enhanced evaluability. Toward these ends, we have identified issues that we offer for consideration by the Pittsburgh School District and others who are interested in continued program development.

The Role of Symbolic Meaning

The same things can have different symbolic meanings to different groups. This is a truism in anthropology, but in every day life we tend to overlook the meanings people bring to situations. Reaching shared meaning (which in some cases may be an agreement to disagree on an issue) is perhaps the central challenge of multicultural education.

There were a few examples that we noted. The program's policy of using the five geo-cultural groups met with limited acceptance from many of the Whites in our sample who tended to use the label "American" or another ethnic designation. The meaning of equity was another example which surfaced in our interviews with district leaders. To one group composed of African Americans and others, equity means equal access and representation. To another group, equity means that rewards are balanced according to inputs to the exchange.

The extent to which such issues can be openly debated without undue acrimony and name calling may be one indicator of progress toward multiculturalism.

Goal Shifts and Program Progress

As in many other programs, the goals and the reality of the program corresponded in limited measure. This has happened so often to other programs that we should find ways to overcome this incongruence of goals and programs.

We might start by understanding that organizations tend to do most what they do best. Staff development and the establishment of innovative practices in schools are hallmarks of the Pittsburgh Public Schools. In the present program, they excelled in these areas. But, there were fewer signs of progress in other areas.

Foundations and government can recognize the strengths of organizations as well as the challenges they are likely to face. This might go beyond the usual review of proposals to other means of assessing capability.

Small Wins and Non-Events

A reform can be eminently successful in detail and a non-event in broader terms. This is because forces that have in one way or another maintained a status quo continue to maintain the status quo.

Pittsburgh had many successes in the details: the Prospect Culture Clubs and Advisory Homerooms, the Mediation Centers established throughout the District, and training in conflict resolution are examples. In a wider sense the reform had one striking earmark of a non-event: the absence of standards for monitoring progress in classrooms.

Ultimately this is a question of leadership at all levels of the reform. We see two basic requirements: the leadership must monitor and celebrate "small wins,"[1] and the leadership must pay attention to the forces that maintain the status quo and seek ways to change them.

This suggests that the analysis of organizational capability should include a examination of the qualifications of the various leaders as well as an assessment of how they are likely to function in their assigned roles. Examples of questions to be asked are the following:

Who will be responsible for managing planned change (including the setting of benchmarks and periodically assuring the orderly progress is made)?

Who has the skills to build a team rather than fight factional fights?

Who has the clearest vision of the whole undertaking?

Who can address issues regarding the forces that facilitate or impede the progress of the program?

Who can address issues of what strategy to use for what purposes?

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[1] K. E. Weick (1984). Small wins: Redefining the scale of social problems. *American Psychologist, 39*, 40-49.

Building on Success

Embracing successes as part of a program is a useful strategy and may be more beneficial than attempts at replication. The District leadership explicitly adopted this strategy for disseminating the program and effectively used this mechanism to nurture and celebrate extant and emerging initiatives in the schools and community.

Indeed, building on success was a theme throughout the initiative. The Allegheny Conference for Community Development brought its prior successes in pollution control and workforce development to bear in addressing the problems of schools. Using its successes as a national leader in staff development and school reform, the Pittsburgh Public Schools attempted the integration of two major movements at Prospect — multicultural education and middle school reform — and used its formidable apparatus to heighten the awareness of a cadre of principals and teachers in schools throughout the District.

One fact is certain: The Pittsburgh Public Schools and the wider community will never be the same. Conversations on multicultural education are occurring at all levels, and questions of race and ethnicity are topics of debate. Changes are apparent in textbooks, in the curriculum, and in the course requirements. Conflict resolution and mediation will be in the vocabularies of students. The legacy of success in these areas is undeniable.

SECTION IV.

APPENDIX

POLICY STATEMENT ON
MULTIRACIAL, MULTIETHNIC, MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION
IN THE PITTSBURGH PUBLIC SCHOOLS

DISTRICT-WIDE TASK FORCE ON MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION
Office of Multicultural Education
June 1991

POLICY STATEMENT ON MULTIRACIAL, MULTIETHNIC, MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION IN THE PITTSBURGH PUBLIC SCHOOLS

June, 1991

I. Statement of Philosophy

The Pittsburgh Public Schools celebrates racial, ethnic, and cultural diversity through a variety of programs and policies that are oriented towards staff, students, and parents. We fully support the statement by James Banks[1] that "*ethnic diversity is a positive element in a society because it enriches a nation and increases the ways in which its citizens can perceive and solve personal and public problems*." The Pittsburgh Public Schools is dedicated to extending the concept of celebrating diversity to the entire range of educational activities that are provided.

The district's multicultural education program is intended to be inclusive of all racial, ethnic, and cultural groups with the city, state, and nation. As a manifestation of this full inclusion goal, the district accepts Dr. Asa Hilliard's five geo-cultural group model of **African-Americans, Asian-Americans, European-Americans, Hispanic-Americans, and Native-Americans**. Because each geo-cultural group is itself, quite diverse, we acknowledge the many specific ethnic, religious, and nationality groups that are subsumed within each of these five categories and, therefore, encourage the use of more specific references to a particular group where possible, Any group that is not subsumed within these categories will also receive full and equitable treatment.

First, with regard to equity in programming and service delivery, all programs, services, and staff will respect and be representative of diversity at all levels: the five geo-cultural groups, various socioeconomic levels, language, ability, and gender backgrounds. Special attention will be given to ensure that ethnic diversity is a primary consideration in our school district. Racial and ethnic diversity must, of course, apply to the staffing of individual schools as well as to the staffing patterns within the district as a whole. Whenever possible, no school staff or organizational unit should be overwhelmingly from a single racial or ethnic group.

Second, curriculum reform will occur in all content areas and promote the following:

- elimination of stereotypes;
- feelings of worth and importance of one's own cultural background;
- greater understanding of and appreciation for cultures other than one's own;
- exposure to multiple perspectives, especially with regard to themes and commonalities and differences within and across cultures;
- inclusion and recognition of persons of all ability levels.

These goals cannot be achieved if individual classes within the schools are segregated throughout the entire school day by race, regardless of the rational offered. Moreover, the reforms will be an integral part of the curriculum, not a supplement related to particular commemorative events or occasions. With regard to instruction, staff should be encouraged to expand their repertoire of teaching skills to accommodate diverse learning styles and individual student needs; further, staff should be encouraged to utilize strategies that promote positive interpersonal relations *and* high academic achievement such as cooperative learning and peer tutoring.

Third, staff development opportunities that promote high teacher expectations, and positive attitudes and behaviors toward all students should be provided throughout the District. Focus should be placed on equity pedagogy that supports the philosophy that all children learn and can learn in school; therefore, they must be given equitable opportunities to learn regardless of their race, gender, perceived academic ability or special needs. As a consequence of this perspective, supervision and evaluation of staff should include a focus on issues of equity in instruction and outcomes. The notion that all children are learners should be a fundamental component of staff development efforts and of the values governing policies and decisions made within the Pittsburgh Public Schools. In order to further enhance awareness around cultural pluralism, training activities should allow staff members to explore their own ethnicity, as well as the ethnicity of others.

Finally, the school district is committed to promoting the celebration of ethnic diversity and cultural pluralism. The district remains dedicated to the principle that students from a variety of backgrounds, abilities, interests, and values will be served. That is, when students leave our schools, they will have acquired a respect for and appreciation of the commonalities and differences within and across cultures.

II. GOALS

A. Programming and Service Delivery

All educational programs, services, and staff must respect and be representative of the cultural, racial, ethnic, socio-economic, language, and gender backgrounds of the city, state, nation, and world.

B. Hiring, Staffing and Personnel Evaluation

A respect for racial, ethnic, cultural, and gender diversity should be reflected in the district's hiring and staffing practices at all levels - administrative, professional, para-professional, and support. Further, the district's personnel evaluative criteria for all employees should reflect the district's commitment to multiracial, multiethnic, and multicultural education.

C. Curriculum Reform

Multicultural curriculum reform embraces a vision of the full inclusion of each of the five geo-cultural groups and an equitable representation of all racial, ethnic, and cultural groups across each of the content areas.

Students need to develop a positive sense of identity, self awareness, and pride in their heritage. Students need to be educated in progressive stages that begin with tolerance, develop into understanding, and culminate in respect and appreciation for the racial, cultural, and ethnic traditions of others. All students must be taught to perceive themselves ad important, productive members of their society, a society to which they have the ability to make significant contributions and changes.

The curriculum must be free of all racial, ethnic, and cultural biases and include realistic portrayals of the members of various racial, ethnic, and cultural groups. Within this curriculum, students must be afforded a wide range of experiences and opportunities to broaden their bases of understanding.

D. Human Relations

Staff, students, and parents should be provided with the appropriate inservice training and feedback to insure that the dignity of all individuals is respected.

E. Instructional and Grouping Practices

Staff members should be required to expand their repertoire of administrative, supervisory, and teaching skills to include instructional strategies that promote high academic achievement and positive interpersonal relations for all students. The heterogeneous grouping of students should be regarded as the accepted grouping practice. Tracking, regardless of the rationale offered, is prohibited. The arguments against tracking are numerous: labeling groups of students as low achievers communicates low expectations for students that may be self-fulfilling[2]; students in low performing classes have been observed to receive instruction at a slower pace and of lower quality than students in higher achieving groups, and students in homogeneous classes are deprived of the example and stimulation provided in a diverse class. The purported positive impact of tracking on student achievement has not been supported by research. A recent review of studies on tracking indicates that "the effects of comprehensive ability-grouped class assignment (tracking) on student achievement are zero" for students in all ability groups[3].

Students should remain in heterogeneous classes, most times, but may be regrouped for instruction in reading. Regrouping students for instruction in selected subjects such as mathematics should be the exception, not the rule. Monitoring of grouping practices must be an ongoing process. (Specific recommendations about regrouping that reflect current research are available from the Divisions of Mathematics and Reading.) Students' primary identification must be with a heterogeneous class.

The quality of instruction provided has a far greater impact on student achievement than grouping practices. The primary goal of all staff must be to provide instruction that promotes high achievement for all students.

F. Parent and Community Involvement

All schools, staff, and organizational units within the district must strive to incorporate meaningful involvement of parents and community representatives in their efforts to implement multicultural initiatives.

G. Staff Development

Training opportunities should be provided that promote positive beliefs, attitudes, and values toward all children. In addition, training opportunities should include strategies to adapt instruction and curriculum to individual students' needs, interests, and abilities.

III. Principles of Practice

1. Textbooks and other instructional materials will be selected on the basis of their adherence to the district's multicultural goals. Co-curricular activities that celebrate diversity should be planned and implemented.
2. Students will be grouped heterogeneously for instruction. As a result of this type of grouping, students will experience diversity and learn to respect cultural differences.
3. Training will be provided for all staff so that they may recognize the need for multicultural education. This training will also enable them to implement multicultural strategies in their classrooms.
4. Training in a variety of teaching strategies will be available for all staff so that they may expand their repertoire and reach all students.
5. Staff will be provided with training in the theory and assessment of students' cognitive learning styles and learn to utilize diverse teaching strategies that reflect differences in cognitive learning styles and individual student needs.
6. Positive peer group relationships will be fostered among adults and students. Adults and students will learn how to manage conflict effectively.
7. Teachers will practice equity in their classrooms giving all students an equal opportunity to participate regardless of race, gender, physical ability, cultural background or social class.
8. Involving parents and the community in the schools will be an important component of the multicultural program.
9. Assessment techniques will be revised to reflect performance, knowledge, and sensitivity to cultural diversity.
10. Staffing will reflect the multicultural makeup of the nation. This will be accomplished through hiring practices that allow aggressive and focused recruitment, and through staffing practices that provide an equitable distribution of personnel at all elvels of the District.

IV. GLOSSARY OF TERMS

Multiracial Education - An educational reform movement that celebrates the positive aspects that all races have made in the evolution of knowledge and the world. The multiracial educational approach links the knowledge gases of Black Studies, Asian Studies, Latino Studies and other monocultural reform movements to emphasize the concerns of all races.

Multiethnic Education - An educational reform movement that represents the logical progression from monoethnic to ethnic to multiethnic education. Fundamental assumptions of multiethnic education are: 1) the belief that many school practices and policies reinforce negative beliefs and stereotypes about many ethnic groups and, therefore, should be eliminated; 2) appreciation for the positive and self-enhancing role of ethnicity; and 3) emphasis on reform at the level of whole schools and school systems.

Multicultural Education - An educational reform movement that encompasses the multiracial and multiethnic approaches but extends them by including a concern for the unique needs and concerns of culture-specific groups such as women, particular trans-ethnic religious groups such as the Muslim or Mennonite cultures, and important intra-racial or intra-ethnic groups such as inner-city African-Americans or Louisiana Creoles. Like multiracial and multiethnic education, multicultural education emphasizes the positive aspects of diversity, encourages increased knowledge of and respect for both one's own culture as well as other cultures, and seeks to combat all manifestations of racism, sexism, classism, and ethnocentrism within the educational environment.

Minority Groups - A phrase that is often used to refer, collectively or individually, to people of color (e.g., African-Americans, Hispanic-Americans, Asian-Americans etc.). Because of the terms' negative connotation and ambiguous meaning, the use of the terms "minority," "minorities," and "minority groups" should be not use din official correspondence, documents, or reports with the Pittsburgh Public Schools.

Tracking - A way of grouping students that leads to a fixed schedule which reflects the segregation of students by academic ability, race, gender, and/or social status and is perpetuated throughout a school day. Tracking, regardless of the rationale offered, is prohibited.

Differentiated Pedagogy - Adapting curriculum and methods of instruction and evaluation to accommodate students' individual learning styles, need, abilities, and interests. Teachers must assess, on a regular basis, their teaching and the impact it has on the achievement of each student[4].

References

[1] Banks, James A. (1990). *Multiethnic Education*, Allyn & Bacon, Boston, Mass.

[2] Oakes, J. (1985). *Keeping Track: How Schools Structure Inequality*, Yale University Press, New Haven, Conn.

[3] Slavin, R. E. (1987). "Ability Grouping and Student Achievement in Elementary Schools: A Best-Evidence Synthesis." *Review of Educational Research*, pp. 293-336.

[4] Academy for Educational Development. (1985). *Teaching Development in Schools: A Report to the Ford Foundation*, Academy for Educational Development, New York.

YOUR ATTITUDES AND OPINIONS

This booklet asks how you think and feel about yourself, other people, and your school. It also asks about you and other students.

Your answers to these questions will help us learn what students think and do. The answers for many students in your school will be averaged. Teachers, school leaders, and scientists will use these averages to try to find ways to make your school a better place. Only the averages, not your own answers, will be given to people in your school district.

Your help with this survey is up to you. You have the right not to answer any or all the questions. But we want you to know that your answers are important. The number on your booklet may be used to compare your answers to answers to other questions you may be asked later. This matching will be for research purposes only. WE DO NOT WANT YOUR NAME ON YOUR BOOKLET. Please carefully peel the label with your name off the booklet before you begin.

Please read each question carefully. Then mark the answer that is closest to what you think. This is not a test. There are no right or wrong answers.

Please raise your hand now if you have any questions.

If you want to talk to anybody about your participation in this project, you should feel free to ask your principal or to call Dr. Gary Gottfredson at 410-516-0375 or the board at Johns Hopkins University (410-516-6580) that reviews how research is carried out.

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Some Questions About You

Please answer the following questions so we can learn how different groups of students feel about things.

1. Are you: ***(Mark one.)***

   ○ Female
   ○ Male

2. How old were you on your last birthday? ***(Mark one.)***

   ○ 10 years or younger
   ○ 11 years
   ○ 12 years
   ○ 13 years
   ○ 14 years
   ○ 15 years
   ○ 16 years or older

3. What grade are you in? ***(Mark one.)***

   ○ 6th
   ○ 7th
   ○ 8th

4. How do you rate yourself in school ability compared with those in your class at school?

   ○ I am among the best
   ○ I am above average
   ○ I am average
   ○ I am below average
   ○ I am among the poorest

5. What is your ancestry? *(Print the ancestry group with which you identify--a nationality or country in which your parents or ancestors were born. If you do not identify with just one group, print more than one For example: African, Cherokee, English, Honduran, Italian, Jamaican, Korean, Lithuanian, Mexican, Nigerian, Polish, etc.)*

   ____

6. How do you describe yourself? ***(Mark one.)***

   ○ Black or African American
   ○ White or European American
   ○ Native American or Alaskan Native
   ○ Asian American or Pacific Islander (Chinese, Japanese, Hawaiian, Laotian, etc.)
   ○ Spanish American (Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, or other Latin American)
   ○ Other: ____________________

Your Educational and Career Plans and Effort

The next questions ask about your plans for education and about your school work. Please mark one answer for each question.

7. Do you think you will get a college degree?

   ○ Yes
   ○ Not sure
   ○ No

8. Do you expect to complete high school?

   ○ I am certain to finish high school.
   ○ I probably will finish high school.
   ○ I probably will not finish high school.

9. What occupation do you expect to be working in by the time you are 35 years old? ***(Print the name of the occupation in the space below.)***

   ____

Your Opinions

Here are some things people can feel proud of or ashamed of when they think about their ethnic, racial, or cultural group. Please read each of these descriptions and check the answer that tells how you feel when you think about your own racial or ethnic group compared to others.

	Proud	Pleased	No feeling	Embarrassed	Ashamed	
10.	○	○	○	○	○	The kind of food eaten
11.	○	○	○	○	○	People in history
12.	○	○	○	○	○	Amount of money made
13.	○	○	○	○	○	Clothes some people wear
14.	○	○	○	○	○	Businesses some are in
15.	○	○	○	○	○	Neighborhoods
16.	○	○	○	○	○	Intelligence
17.	○	○	○	○	○	Families
18.	○	○	○	○	○	Leaders
19.	○	○	○	○	○	Clubs or social groups
20.	○	○	○	○	○	Religion or spirituality
21.	○	○	○	○	○	Homes
22.	○	○	○	○	○	Possessions
23.	○	○	○	○	○	Educational achievement
24.	○	○	○	○	○	Superstitions

Here are some more things people can feel proud of or ashamed of when they think about their ethnic or racial group. Please check the answer that tells how you feel when you think about **your** cultural or racial group.

	Proud	Pleased	No feeling	Embarrassed	Ashamed	
25.	○	○	○	○	○	Taking advantage of others
26.	○	○	○	○	○	Respect for others like themselves
27.	○	○	○	○	○	Speech and language
28.	○	○	○	○	○	Ancestors
29.	○	○	○	○	○	Traditions
30.	○	○	○	○	○	Kinds of work people do

*Here are some things people may feel **ashamed** of when they think about their ethnic or racial group.* Please check the answer that tells how you feel when you think about **your** racial or cultural group.

	No feeling	Embarrassed	Ashamed	
31.	○	○	○	Crime
32.	○	○	○	Immoral behavior
33.	○	○	○	Taking advantage of others
34.	○	○	○	Drug use
35.	○	○	○	Drunkenness
36.	○	○	○	Laziness
37.	○	○	○	Unemployment
38.	○	○	○	Disgracing family honor

Here are some things people may feel proud of when they think about their ethnic or racial group. Please check the answer that tells how you feel when you think about **your** racial or cultural group.

	No feeling	Proud	Very Proud	
39.	○	○	○	The way people stick together
40.	○	○	○	Helping others
41.	○	○	○	Working hard
42.	○	○	○	Courage
43.	○	○	○	Musical ability
44.	○	○	○	Getting ahead economically
45.	○	○	○	Overcoming the odds

What People Think

Please answer the following questions to tell whether you agree or disagree with the following statements are mostly true or mostly false about people in your school. ***(Circle A or D for each statement.)***

	Agree	Disagree	
46.	A	D	Black and white students want to work together in this school.
47.	A	D	I have a great deal of respect for other students of my own ethnic/racial group.
48.	A	D	White and black students help each other at school.
49.	A	D	Members of my racial or ethnic group in this school treat each other with respect.
50.	A	D	Many sixth-grade students in my ethnic/racial group are afraid of being hassled by older students.

	Agree	Disagree	
51.	A	D	Most white teachers favor white students.
52.	A	D	Students of my own ethnic/racial group often hassle each other.
53.	A	D	Most black teachers favor black students.
54.	A	D	Students of my own ethnic/racial group usually do whatever they can to help each other get along.
55.	A	D	Most white people in this school want to see African Americans get a better break.
56.	A	D	Students of my ethnic/racial group are often worried that they will be hurt or bothered by other members of my group.
57.	A	D	Some white people in this school don't care whether African American students get ahead.
58.	A	D	Most students of my ethnic/racial group can be counted on to do the right thing.
59.	A	D	Students would rather be in a school without kids from some other race.
60.	A	D	Many students of my ethnic/racial group can be expected to embarrass others.
61.	A	D	I like the way I am treated by members of my own racial/ethnic group.
62.	A	D	Students of my racial group who make good grades will never fit in with other kids.

63. If someone made fun of a student for trying hard at school, how do you think most of your friends would feel? ***(Mark one.)***

- ○ Glad
- ○ Would not care
- ○ Angry or upset

Stereotypes of Different Groups

Please answer the following questions to tell how you think the average student in your school thinks about students in each of these cultural or racial groups. ***(Circle T for true or F for false for each line.)***

How students see the average white-American student:

	True	False	
64.	T	F	Hypocritical
65.	T	F	Loud
66.	T	F	Ambitious
67.	T	F	Moral
68.	T	F	Neat
69.	T	F	Lazy
70.	T	F	Intelligent
71.	T	F	Stuck-up
72.	T	F	Cares about family
73.	T	F	Attractive
74.	T	F	Boring
75.	T	F	Wastes money

How students see the average African-American student:

	True	False	
76.	T	F	Hypocritical
77.	T	F	Loud
78.	T	F	Ambitious
79.	T	F	Moral
80.	T	F	Neat
81.	T	F	Lazy
82.	T	F	Intelligent
83.	T	F	Stuck-up
84.	T	F	Cares about family
85.	T	F	Attractive
86.	T	F	Boring
87.	T	F	Wastes money

How Do You Feel?

How close do you feel in your ideas and your feelings to the following groups? ***(Mark one answer for each line.)***

	Very close	Close	Not Close	Not close at all	
88.	○	○	○	○	White students
89.	○	○	○	○	Black students
90.	○	○	○	○	White teachers
91.	○	○	○	○	Black teachers
92.	○	○	○	○	White people in general
93.	○	○	○	○	Black people in general

94. If someone made fun of a student for trying hard at school, how do you think you would feel? ***(Mark one.)***

○ Glad
○ Would not care
○ Angry or upset

Some Questions About You

Are the following questions mostly true or mostly false? ***(Circle T for true or F for false for each statement.)***

True False

95. T F If I get the right help with a problem with school work, I can learn the material.

96. T F When I practice at math problems, I do well on the tests.

97. T F I pretend not to try hard at school work.

98. T F When I read up on a topic, I can write a good report about it.

99. T F If I do well in school, I won't fit in with my friends.

100. T F I expect to get good grades when I study hard.

101. T F If I study hard enough, I can do well in my classes.

102. T F I don't want to look like a good student.

103. T F Most of the time, I can get a better score on a test by studying.

104. T F I can read very difficult books if I spend enough time and effort.

True False

105. T F If I go over my notes from class before a test, I usually get a good grade on the test.

106. T F I value my friends' approval more than getting ahead in my school work.

107. T F How much effort I spend on homework has a lot to do with the grades I get.

108. T F If I do well at school, I try not to let my friends know.

109. T F Most of the time it doesn't pay to prepare for exams.

110. T F Students should not tease other students for doing well at school work.

111. T F I usually do well in school when I work at it.

112. T F Students of my ethnic group would make fun of me if I did too well at school work.

113. T F Students of my racial/ethnic group should try to earn the best grades they can.

114. T F Sometimes I don't do as well at school as I could so that I will fit in better with my friends.

115. T F I enjoy studying about the accomplishments of persons of different ethnic groups.

True False

116. T F I am proud of what my school is doing to help people of different ethnic groups understand each other.

117. T F I would like to do better at my school work.

Some Questions About Your School

118. How would you rate the value of the time spent in the advisory home room periods in your school?

○ The best part of the school day
○ Interesting and valuable
○ Just like any other part of the day
○ Boring and not useful
○ A nearly total waste of time

119. Do you think you should be required to take a multicultural education course?

○ Can't say; I don't know about it.
○ It would be the best part of the day.
○ It would be interesting and valuable.
○ It would be just like any other part of the day
○ It would be boring and not useful
○ It would be a nearly total waste of time

Your Activities

Which of the following activities have you spent time in this school year?

	Did not want to do	Would have liked to do	Spent time doing	
120.	○	○	○	In-school or after-school club -- Which clubs?
121.	○	○	○	School band
122.	○	○	○	Chorus
123.	○	○	○	School dances
124.	○	○	○	Faculty versus student games
125.	○	○	○	Family fun night
126.	○	○	○	IBM student pennant race
127.	○	○	○	Science fair
128.	○	○	○	School athletic events (soccer, softball, swimming, volleyball, wrestling, basketball, or other sport)
129.	○	○	○	School newspaper, magazine, yearbook, annual
130.	○	○	○	Student council, student government, political club
131.	○	○	○	Helping out at school as a library assistant, office helper, etc.
132.	○	○	○	Youth organizations in the community such as scouts, Y, church group, etc.
133.	○	○	○	Debating or drama
134.	○	○	○	Working at neighborhood recreation centers
135.	○	○	○	Volunteer work in the community
136.	○	○	○	Cheer leaders, pep clubs, majorettes
137.	○	○	○	School field trips (visits, conferences, or trips sponsored by your school)
138.	○	○	○	Other school activities -- Which activities?

STAFF ATTITUDES AND OPINIONS

This booklet asks questions we will use in the evaluation of the Multicultural Education Program at Prospect Middle School. It asks for your views about the program and your school, relations among people in the school, and practices you may use. It also asks for your views about roles within the school.

Your answers will be confidential. The answers for groups from your school will be averaged. School leaders, planning teams, and scientists will use these averages to try to find ways to make your school a better place. Only the averages, not your own answers, will be given to people in your school district.

Your help with this survey is up to you. You have the right not to answer any or all the questions. But we want you to know that your answers are important. WE DO NOT WANT YOUR NAME ON YOUR BOOKLET.

If you want to talk to anybody about your participation in this project, you should feel free to ask your principal or Dr. Stanley Denton, or to call Dr. Gary Gottfredson at 410-516-0375 or the board at Johns Hopkins University (410-516-6580) that reviews how research is carried out.

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Some Questions About You

Please answer the following questions so we can learn how different groups feel about things.

Are you: ***(Please mark yes or no for each line--several may apply).***

	Yes	No	
1.	Y	N	An administrator (principal, dean, director, or other administrator)
2.	Y	N	A classroom teacher teaching at least one subject for at least one period in grades 6 through 8
3.	Y	N	A guidance counselor, librarian, social worker, family liaison worker, program coordinator, or mental health worker
4.	Y	N	A building or grounds maintenance or repair worker
5.	Y	N	A custodian or food service worker
6.	Y	N	An Instructional Team Leader (ITL)
7.	Y	N	A Human Relations Teacher (HRT)
8.	Y	N	A secretary or clerical worker
9.	Y	N	An aide or paraprofessional
10.	Y	N	Other: ______________

11. Are you: ***(Mark one.)***

○ Female
○ Male

12. What is your ancestry? *(Print the ancestry group with which you identify--a nationality or country in which your parents or ancestors were born. If you do not identify with just one group, print more than one. For example: African, Cherokee, English, Honduran, Italian, Jamaican, Korean, Lithuanian, Mexican, Nigerian, Polish, etc.)*

____

13. How do you describe yourself? ***(Mark one.)***

○ Black or African American
○ White or European American
○ Native American or Alaskan Native
○ Asian American or Pacific Islander (Chinese, Japanese, Hawaiian, Laotian, etc.)
○ Spanish American (Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, or other Latin American)
○ Other: ______________________

14. How many years have you served in this school? ***(Mark one.)***

○ I am in my first year
○ I am in my second year
○ I am in my third year
○ I have been here four years or longer

The Multicultural Education Program

Here are some questions about the Multicultural Education Program. Please answer these questions to tell your personal views about the program. Which of the following do you believe should be goals or objectives of the Multicultural Education program? ***(Mark one answer for each statement.)***

	Should be	Should not be	
15.	○	○	Reduce racial incidents among students.
16.	○	○	Reduce insensitivity and bias by staff members towards cultural differences.
17.	○	○	Equalize the academic achievement of white and black students.
18.	○	○	Reduce suspensions for black male students.
19.	○	○	Promote a climate of respect and understanding of all races and ethnic groups.
20.	○	○	Introduce multiracial, multiethnic, and multicultural curriculum content into Prospect's instructional materials.
21.	○	○	Increase student involvement in the school's activities.
22.	○	○	Increase the connectedness of all students to the school (reduce alienation among all groups).
23.	○	○	Increase the participation of parents in making decisions about the school--its policies and practices.
24.	○	○	Increase the participation of other community members in making decisions about the school--its policies and practices.
25.	○	○	Increase the percentage of all students whose CAT scores are at or above the national average.
26.	○	○	Increase the scores of students whose CAT scores are below the national average.

27. How confident are you that the Multicultural Education Program will be able to substantially achieve its principal goals and objectives within a 3- to 5-year period? ***(Mark one answer.)***

○ will definitely succeed in achieving all or most of its goals.
○ will probably succeed in achieving some of its goals.
○ may succeed and may fail in achieving most goals and objectives.
○ will probably fail to achieve most of its goals.
○ will definitely fail to achieve anything of importance.

28. Should the Prospect Multicultural Education Program be extended to other schools in the district? ***(Mark one.)***

○ Definitely yes, now.
○ Yes, as soon as more materials and experience are available.
○ Probably, but we need more materials and experience first.
○ Probably not, but we should wait to learn if benefits develop.
○ No, there is nothing beneficial to extend.
○ Definitely not.

29. Should the School Board allocate money to extend a multicultural program to all schools in Pittsburgh? ***(Mark one answer.)***

○ Yes--even if it means reducing allocations in other areas.
○ Yes--if this does not interfere with other school needs.
○ No opinion.
○ No.
○ No--not even if a foundation gave the district money exclusively for this purpose.

30. If I could create my own multicultural education program, it would: ***(Mark one answer.)***

- ○ Be exactly like the Prospect Program.
- ○ Be similar to the Prospect Program with some changes.
- ○ Be quite different from the Prospect Program.
- ○ Not resemble the Prospect Program at all.

31. The emphasis in middle schools should be on reaching the highest levels of achievement possible rather than on multicultural education. ***(Mark one answer to show your opinion.)***

- ○ Strongly agree
- ○ Agree
- ○ Disagree
- ○ Strongly disagree

32. If we focus on getting all students to achieve at their highest potential, multicultural issues will take care of themselves.

- ○ Strongly agree
- ○ Agree
- ○ Disagree
- ○ Strongly disagree

33. When students are not learning what they need to learn, multicultural education is a frill.

- ○ Strongly agree
- ○ Agree
- ○ Disagree
- ○ Strongly disagree

34. Multicultural education should encourage teachers to consider student effort or background when grading student performance.

- ○ Strongly agree
- ○ Agree
- ○ Disagree
- ○ Strongly disagree

35. The Prospect Center has achieved its goal of demonstrating the value of multicultural education.

- ○ Strongly agree
- ○ Agree
- ○ Disagree
- ○ Strongly disagree

Program Elements

The next questions ask about your familiarity with and level of use of several elements that are or may become a part of the Multicultural Education Program. **If you are a classroom teacher who teaches at least one subject for at least one period in grades 6 through 8,** please mark one answer on each line to tell about your degree of awareness or involvement in each of these things. **If you are not a classroom teacher,** skip to question 57.

	Have not heard about	**Know little about**	**Have obtained information**	**Have been trained**	**Have tried myself**	**Teach, use, or do irregularly**	**Teach, use, or do regularly**	
36.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	CIRC, Jigsaw, STAD, TAI, or TGT
37.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	Other cooperative learning methods-- **Important--please specify:** ______________
38.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	Conflict management (incl. mediation)
39.	○	○	○	○				Culture Club
40.	○	○	○	○				Image Club
41.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	Flexible scheduling within team
42.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	CAT action plans
43.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	Learning and teaching styles (Dunn)
44.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	Special programs for involving parents-- **Important--please specify:** ______________
45.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	Methods for instruction in heterogeneous (non-tracked) groups of students
46.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	Supercabinet

	Have not heard about	**Know little about**	**Have obtained information**	**Have been trained**	**Have tried myself**	**Teach, use, or do irregularly**	**Teach, use, or do regularly**	
47.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	Multicultural curriculum
48.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	Parent or community volunteers in the classroom
49.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	Adult mentors for students
50.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	Peer tutors
51.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	Speakers or volunteers representing different racial/ethnic/cultural groups
52.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	Time-out room
53.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	Visits to students' homes
54.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	Within-class ability grouping
55.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	Working with social services in the school
56.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	Teacher Expectations and Student Achievement (TESA)
57.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	Study/Homework Shop
58.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	Support groups for parents
59.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	Parent/community meetings

Program Development

How much responsibility do each of the following persons or groups have for the development of the Multicultural Education Program? ***(Mark one answer for each line.)***

	Very much	Much	Not much	None	
60.	○	○	○	○	Allegheny Conference on Community Development
61.	○	○	○	○	Classroom teachers (other than HRTs or ITLs)
62.	○	○	○	○	Clerical or secretarial staff
63.	○	○	○	○	Custodial or food service workers
64.	○	○	○	○	Deans
65.	○	○	○	○	Director of Multicultural Education
66.	○	○	○	○	Others in the Office of Multicultural Education
67.	○	○	○	○	District Curriculum Directors/Supervisors
68.	○	○	○	○	District Multicultural Steering Committee
69.	○	○	○	○	District Office of School Management
70.	○	○	○	○	Guidance counselors, social workers, family liaison workers, librarian, or mental health workers.
71.	○	○	○	○	HRTs
72.	○	○	○	○	ITLs
73.	○	○	○	○	Maintenance or repair workers
74.	○	○	○	○	Other community members
75.	○	○	○	○	Paraprofessionals
76.	○	○	○	○	Parents
77.	○	○	○	○	School-based Multicultural Education Coordinator
78.	○	○	○	○	School Supercabinet
79.	○	○	○	○	Principal
80.	○	○	○	○	School Board
81.	○	○	○	○	Students
82.	○	○	○	○	Superintendent
83.	○	○	○	○	Other: ________________

How Valuable?

Now we want to ask your opinions about the usefulness of a variety of activities that are or may become a part of the Multicultural Education Program. Please mark one answer on each line to tell how valuable you believe each of these things may be for acheiving the Program's goals and objectives.

	Harmful	Useless	No opinion/ don't know	Useful	Very useful	
84.	○	○	○	○	○	Advisory homeroom
85.	○	○	○	○	○	Regular home visits
86.	○	○	○	○	○	Board of Visitors' advice
87.	○	○	○	○	○	Conflict management (incl. mediation and negotiation techniques)
88.	○	○	○	○	○	Cooperative learning (CIRC, Jigsaw, STAD, TAI, TGT, other)
89.	○	○	○	○	○	Culture Club
90.	○	○	○	○	○	Elimination of Scholars' Program
91.	○	○	○	○	○	Elimination of Tracking
92.	○	○	○	○	○	Flexible scheduling within team
93.	○	○	○	○	○	Human Relations Teachers (HRTs)
94.	○	○	○	○	○	Image Club
95.	○	○	○	○	○	CAT action plan
96.	○	○	○	○	○	Instructional teams
97.	○	○	○	○	○	Instructional Team Leaders (ITLs)
98.	○	○	○	○	○	Learning and teaching styles (Dunn)
99.	○	○	○	○	○	School's Racial Achievement Gap Plan

	Harmful	Useless	No opinion/ don't know	Useful	Very useful	
100.	○	○	○	○	○	Methods for instruction in heterogeneous (non-tracked) groups of students
101.	○	○	○	○	○	Special programs for involving parents (Please specify:
102.	○	○	○	○	○	Mediation center
103.	○	○	○	○	○	Multicultural co-curricular activities (e.g., Kwanzaa program)
104.	○	○	○	○	○	Multicultural course
105.	○	○	○	○	○	Multicultural curriculum infusion
106.	○	○	○	○	○	Use of neighborhood community centers
107.	○	○	○	○	○	Open-house welcome to school for students and parents
108.	○	○	○	○	○	Parent or community member volunteers in the classroom

	Harmful	Useless	No opinion/ don't know	Useful	Very useful	
109.	○	○	○	○	○	Reading or math classes for parents
110.	○	○	○	○	○	Parent-Teacher Organization
111.	○	○	○	○	○	Parenting skills training
112.	○	○	○	○	○	Peer tutors
113.	○	○	○	○	○	Pilot teachers
114.	○	○	○	○	○	Program Development Evaluation/Johns Hopkins
115.	○	○	○	○	○	Public relations and media activities
116.	○	○	○	○	○	Pittsburgh School-Based Management model
117.	○	○	○	○	○	Speakers or volunteers representing different ethnic/cultural groups in class
118.	○	○	○	○	○	Supercabinet
119.	○	○	○	○	○	Teacher progression
120.	○	○	○	○	○	Time-out room
121.	○	○	○	○	○	Use of social services in school
122.	○	○	○	○	○	Within-class ability grouping

The next questions ask you to describe the level of teamwork (common objectives and cooperation) versus the degree of conflict (divergence of aims or tension) among different persons or groups. Please rate the degree of teamwork versus tension that might go in either direction (⇔) for each pairing.

	Teamwork			Neutral			Conflict	
123.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	Multicultural Program ⇔ the general school program
124.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	Principal ⇔ teachers
125.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	ITLs ⇔ other faculty
126.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	Faculty as a whole
127.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	Deans ⇔ teachers
128.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	Black teachers ⇔ white teachers
129.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	HRTs ⇔ the principal
130.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	Union ⇔ building management
131.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	Male staff ⇔ female staff
132.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	White teachers ⇔ black students
133.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	ITLs ⇔ the principal
134.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	HRTs ⇔ ITLs
135.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	Black teachers ⇔ white students
136.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	Parents ⇔ teachers
137.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	Local businesses ⇔ the school
138.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	Teachers ⇔ students
139.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	Principal ⇔ Multicultural Education Project
140.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	Deans ⇔ Multicultural Education Project

What People Think

Please answer the following questions to tell whether you agree or disagree with the following statements about people in your school. ***(Mark one answer for each line.)***

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	
141.	○	○	○	○	Black and white staff want to work together in this school.
142.	○	○	○	○	White and black staff help each other at school.
143.	○	○	○	○	Members of my ethnic group in this school treat each other with respect.
144.	○	○	○	○	Staff members of my own ethnic group usually do whatever they can to help each other get along.
145.	○	○	○	○	Most white people in this school want to see African Americans get a better break.
146.	○	○	○	○	Some white people in this school don't care whether African American students get ahead.
147.	○	○	○	○	Most staff members of my ethnic group can be counted on to do the right thing.
148.	○	○	○	○	Teachers would rather be in a school without pupils from a different race.

Final Questions

Please use the space below to indicate the most valuable aspects of the Multicultural Education Program at Prospect Middle School.

The best thing about the Multicultural Education Program is ____________________

____

____

This is so because ____

____

____

The worst thing about the Multicultural Education Program is ____________________

____

____

This is so because ____

____

____

Please use the space below to describe the one thing that would be most helpful in creating a multicultural climate in which members of all groups of students achieve and feel connected to the school that is not now being done as well as it could.

The one most helpful change would be ______________________________

What evidence or rationale indicates that this change is needed? ______________________________

Additional comments: ______________________________

1. Will one of your children be in the 6th grade in September 1993?

_____ No. Please skip to question 2.
_____ Yes, he or she will go to ______________________________________ (please specify the name of the school) in the fall.

2. In what schools and grades will your other children be in September 1993? (Please answer for each child.)

	School	Grade				
		7	8	9	Other	(please specify)
Child 1	______________	○	○	○	○	________
Child 2	______________	○	○	○	○	________
Child 3	______________	○	○	○	○	________
Child 4	______________	○	○	○	○	________
Child 5	______________	○	○	○	○	________

3. Please answer the following questions to tell whether you agree or disagree with the following statements about Prospect Middle School. (Mark one answer for each line.)

Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	
○	○	○	○	Prospect Middle School has a sound academic program.
○	○	○	○	White and Black students get along in Prospect Middle School.
○	○	○	○	The school is safe and orderly.
○	○	○	○	The school staff wants each child to succeed.
○	○	○	○	The school reaches out to involve parents.
○	○	○	○	Specific steps are being taken at Prospect to increase students' knowledge of and awareness about all the cultures that make up America.

4. During the school year that just ended, were you in contact with Prospect Middle School in any of the following ways?

Yes	No	
○	○	I attended a play, musical, or other special event.
○	○	I called my child's advisory homeroom teacher.
○	○	I called another teacher or member of the school staff.
○	○	I visited the school for open house or another event for parents.
○	○	I visited the school because my child was having a problem.
○	○	Someone from the school contacted me by phone.
○	○	The school sent written materials to my house.
○	○	Someone from the school visited my home.
○	○	I met with someone from the school at a community center.
○	○	I attended one of the report card meetings for parents.

5. Please answer the following questions so we can learn how different groups feel about things.

Are you? (Mark one)

○ Mother or female guardian of a school-aged child
○ Father or male guardian of a school-aged child
○ Other: ______________________________

How do you describe yourself? (Mark one)

○ Black or African American
○ White or European American
○ Native American or Alaskan Native
○ Asian American or Pacific Islander (Chinese, Japanese, Hawaiian, Laotian, etc.)
○ Spanish American (Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, or other Latin American)
○ Other: ________________________

6. The one thing that I like the most about Prospect Middle School is:

____
____
____

7. The one thing that I most dislike about Prospect Middle School is:

____
____
____

General Interview Questions

1. Sometimes school policies or the discussion of school policy changes arise from a real consensus on needed changes or new directions, and other times policy debate stems from the concerns voiced by a few concerned individuals.

   How would you describe the discussion of the multicultural educational policy in Pittsburgh?

   What has prompted discussions of multicultural education in Pittsburgh?

2. Who was involved in the development of the new multicultural educational policies?

   Probe → Were you involved in the initial discussions?

   Probe → Would you describe your role as a decision-making one or more of an advisory one?

   If YES, involved in initial discussions:

   Was everyone convinced that this was the right direction or were there differences of opinion?

   Do you remember any of your views at the time?

3. What changes in procedures were planned in anticipation of the implementation of the multicultural policy?

   If YES, there were changes:

   Who was involved in the planning of these procedures?

   Were resources adequate to support the changes once adopted?

   If No, resources were inadequate:

   Please describe in what way resources were not adequate.

4. Have you read the policy document titled, "Policy Statement on Multiracial, Multiethnic, Multicultural Education in the Pittsburgh Public Schools," produced by the Office of Multicultural Education in June 1991?

Next I will ask you questions about the impact of the policy at the district level, in your office, and in the schools.

5. How has the multicultural policy and program affected your daily activities and the operations of your office or others in your position?

6. How has the discussion and adoption of the multicultural policy affected schools in Pittsburgh? **Wait for a response.**

   Probe → Have any district policy changes made a difference in the way schools do their work?

   Probe → Has district multicultural policy affected school discipline?

   Probe → " institutional management?

   Probe → " staff training and development?

   Probe → " identification of children for gifted education programs?

7. What evidence (changes in attitudes, procedures, or opinions) do you see for the institutionalization of the policy?

I now want to turn to a discussion of ability groupings--sometimes called tracking--in schools.

8. In your professional view, is grouping by ability a helpful practice or a harmful one?

   Probe → In what ways, specifically, is it helpful/harmful?

9. We understand that the district adopted a policy statement to eliminate tracking, but that the policy change was put on hold. Can you tell me about the influences that led to the adoption of the policy?

   Probe → What led to the initial policy recommendation to do away with ability grouping?

   Probe → What led to the decision to pub policy changes about tracking on hold?

I want to turn now to people's response to the multicultural policy and the preparation undertaken to prepare teachers, administrators and the public for the project.

10. What was the initial public response to the multicultural program?

11. What has been the public's response to the multicultural policy adopted for the Pittsburgh Public Schools?

12. Do you believe public school teachers and administrators have been well prepared to received the Pittsburgh Public Schools' Multicultural Education Project?

    If NO, not prepared:

    What additional resources, information, or training would have been needed?

And a final set of questions:

13. What, if any, were the unanticipated changes in the multicultural policy arising from experiences from its implementation?

    If YES, there were changes:

    When did these changes occur?

    How were these changes in policy and procedure addressed?

    Who was involved in the decision-making process that resulted in these changes?

14. What is the current status of implementation of the multicultural policy?

15. And, finally, what is the current status of the program?